NRA CODE

The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXXXIX NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1934 No. 3616

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 463
EDITORIALS:
The Aftermath of Marseilles 466
The Vertical Union Wins 467
Threat to a Free Press 467
Going Native 468
ISSUES AND MEN. SAFETY AT SEA AGAIN. By Oswald Garrison Villard 469
WHAT NEXT IN JUGOSLAVIA? By Louis Adamic 470
TAXATION IN THE NEW SOCIAL STATE. II. PUBLIC BUDGETING. By A. E. Buck 472
THE GHOST OF MEDIATION. By Raymond Gram Swing . . . 474
THE REVOLUTION IN SPAIN—ACT THREE. By Anita Brenner 476
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 478
CORRESPONDENCE 479
LABOR AND INDUSTRY:
The A. F. of L. Faces a Fact. By Travers Clement 481
BOOKS, MUSIC, DRAMA, FILMS:
The Age of Scarcity. By Maxwell S. Stewart 483
Frieda Lawrence's Memoirs. By Ferner Nuhn 483
Pirandello's Short Stories. By Arthur Livingston 484
Mr. Nock's Country. By Edna Kenton 485
Drama: A Fig from Thistles. By Joseph Wood Krutch . . . 486
Music: Hindemith Does His Part. By Kenneth Burke 487
Films: Collectivism More or Less. By William Troy 488
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE 490

BOARD OF EDITORS
FREDA KIRCHWEY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH
RAYMOND GRAM SWING
ASSOCIATE EDITORS
MARGARET MARSHALL MAXWELL S. STEWART
DOROTHY VAN DOREN

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD
CONTRIBUTING EDITOR

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States; to Canada, $5.50; and to other foreign countries, $6.00.

THE NATION. Published weekly at 20 Vesey St., New York. Entered as second class matter December 13, 1887, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., and under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1934, by The Nation, Inc.; Oswald Garrison Villard, Publisher.
Muriel C. Gray, Advertising Manager. Cable Address: Nation, New York.

GERMANY'S ACTION in terminating its commercial agreement with the United States is wholly consistent with the development of Nazi economic policy. From the outset this policy has been isolationist in emphasis. In an effort to combat unemployment, public expenditures were increased sufficiently to cause a mild domestic boom. The resultant increase in prices and costs of production, however, seriously handicapped the export industries, and as a consequence of the decline in exports the German government was compelled to adopt a series of extraordinary measures to protect its rapidly dwindling gold reserves. Caught in a vicious circle of declining trade and default, and unable for political reasons to adjust its domestic policy to world conditions, the Reich has sought refuge in bilateral agreements on a strict quid pro quo basis. In this it has been unquestionably hampered by this country's demand for unconditional most-favored-nation treatment. Yet the United States cannot afford to retreat from its stand on the most-favored-nation clause. The principle of equality of treatment alone offers assurance that bilateral agreements will bring an increase rather than merely a diversion of trade, and this is essential if we are to avoid constant friction. If a choice is presented between allowing the agreement to lapse and negotiating a new one without the most-favored-nation clause, we should be wise in postponing action in hope of a restoration of sanity in the Reich.

THE ARREST OF BISHOP MEISSER and the forcible deposition of the church council at Munich has stirred the Bavarian Protestant clergy, the true spiritual descendants of Martin Luther, into open rebellion against the ecclesiastical and civil authorities of the Third Reich. In explicit disregard of an order by the police, the pastors read from their pulpits before packed congregations a manifesto calling on faithful Christians to refuse obedience to the illegal organization set up by Reich Bishop Müller and his civil aid, Dr. Jäger. These two men were characterized as "dark powers" whose warlike action had erected in Bavaria a "regime of might" opening the door to every heresy. On the day prior to the reading of the manifesto, public protests were held in front of the Brown House at Munich and in the historic St. Lorenz church at Nürnberg at which the Nazi officials are said to have been jeered. One report contains the rather unlikely statement that Hitler himself was included in the jeering. Deprived of other means of defense, it is asserted that the Protestant leaders will propose an interdict on all churches in Bavaria and Württemberg if Müller and Jäger are not removed. While this newly found independence on the part of the clergy can scarcely be taken as an indication of a wholesale reaction against the extreme pretensions of Nazi philosophy, it is at least significant of a loss of prestige which may have far-reaching repercussions.

THE FAMOUS "BOB-JIM" CORRESPONDENCE tween Postmaster General James A. Farley and Robert Moses, Republican candidate for Governor of New York, having been published, we now know What a Politician Thinks About. Mr. Moses, as head of the State parks in 1931, had the quaint idea that merit should be the governing factor in filling vacancies in State positions, and that such positions as were under civil-service control should be filled by competitive examination only. Politics, he said, would play no part in appointments while he was running the parks. Mr. Farley, as chairman of the Democratic State Committee, had a quite different point of view, and since that point of view has rarely been put more flatly and with a more complete absence of shame, it is worth quoting. Mr. Farley wrote: "My attitude, Bob, would be to appoint no one but Democrats to these laboring positions. The Democrats are in control of the State government and have been for many years and we are not taking care of them, in my judgment, in a way that we should. I never yet saw a Republican office-holder giving any consideration to a Democrat." When confronted with this letter, Mr. Farley said: "I have never been a hypocrite in public life. . . . The views I held in 1931 I hold today." That President Roosevelt permits him, holding these views, to continue in high public office and as chairman of the Democratic National Commit-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tee with enormous patronage at his disposal, is another matter. Mr. Roosevelt, we suspected, had rather prided himself on the non-partisanship of his appointments. But if he keeps his Postmaster General, can he fail to indorse his views also?

OUT OF THE CLOUDS which have enveloped the Scottsboro case for the past fortnight, in the course of which the International Labor Defense and Mr. Samuel Leibowitz have been in and out of the case several times, the following facts seem to be emerging. The two defendants, Heywood Patterson and Clarence Norris, at present under sentence of death in Kilby Prison, in Alabama, have declared in writing that they wish their defense to be conducted, as it has been for two and a half years, by the International Labor Defense, and their appeal before the United States Supreme Court to be argued by Osmund Fraenkel and Walter Pollak. At the same time they hope that whatever differences exist between the I. L. D. and Samuel S. Leibowitz, who has defended the case in the lower courts but who never has appeared before the Supreme Court, will be amicably settled, or, in the words of Patterson: "I am with the hopes that Mr. Leibowitz will change his attitude and be of agreeable." These documents, signed by Norris and Patterson, are at present in the office of the International Labor Defense in New York City. One can only hope that not only Mr. Leibowitz but everybody concerned with the case will from now on "be of agreeable," and that the appeal before the Supreme Court will not be further prejudiced by controversies over who will conduct the defense. To an outsider only one thing is plain: the argument before the Supreme Court should be conducted by the best possible counsel. To date no better counsel has been offered than Mr. Pollak, recognized as an able pleader before the highest court in the country, and Mr. Fraenkel. Further defense squabbles cannot, one feels sure, originate with anyone who has the best interests of the two Negro youths at heart.

THE SUPREME COURT of California has just granted a new trial to David Lamson, accused of beating his wife to death with a piece of iron pipe in the bathroom of their house on the Stanford University campus. The Lamson case was discussed in *The Nation* for September 26 and it was said then that there appeared to be sufficient doubt of Lamson's guilt to justify a new trial. The State Supreme Court agreed, but in discussing the opinion Chief Justice William H. Waste is quoted as making one of the most shockingly prejudicial statements it has been our privilege to read from the lips of a supposedly responsible jurist. "A reading of the various opinions of the justices," said Justice Waste, "shows a majority of them feel Lamson is guilty, but all of them believe him entitled to a new trial." The conclusion of the majority opinion was as follows: "Every statement of the defendant capable of verification tends to support his claims. It is true he may be guilty, but the evidence thereof is no stronger than mere suspicion." On the basis of this suspicion, evidently, Chief Justice Waste permitted himself to step down from the bench and deliver an opinion that cannot fail to prejudice the case in the trial court. One can only demand, in the interest of justice itself, that Justice Waste indicate on what evidence the judges base their belief of guilt; the evidence presented to the jury was not sufficient, they declare, to justify conviction. Have they other and more convincing evidence? And if so, how is it possibly relevant to the opinion of a court of review, which could not consider anything that had not been duly offered to the trial jury?

LLOYD K. GARRISON'S resignation as chairman of the National Labor Relations Board deprives the New Deal of a rare and valuable personality. Under his chairmanship the board stood straight up to the basic issue raised by Section 7-a, union recognition. Mr. Garrison's approach, as might have been expected from the dean of Wisconsin's law school, was legalistic, and his board functions as a quasi-judicial agency, dispensing administrative law. But his legalism was tempered by a fine understanding of the impulse toward self-organization which has been at work among American wage-earners since the summer of 1933. At the same time, he was tough-minded enough to see through the various shifts and devices—company unions, proportional representation, refusal to execute agreements—by which anti-union employers have sought to frustrate this impulse. He did not conceive of his board as an agency whose *summum bonum* should be the maintenance of "peace at any price." Unlike the Wagner board, the Garrison board has refrained from devoting its principal energies to strike mediation; it has curbed the impulse to force through settlements on any terms consistent with the balance of power in the particular case. Instead it has largely confined itself to defining the rights of trade unions under the Recovery Act, and has stated its definitions in clear and unequivocal language. The theory of collective bargaining in whose formulation Mr. Garrison played the major role recaptures the original spirit and intent of Section 7-a. If the board has not been successful so far in having the theory enforced, the fault was not Mr. Garrison's. His was the judicial function; but the responsibility for putting this theory into force rests squarely upon the President.

EVIDENCE that the extent of unemployment in the United States has been considerably underestimated is presented by a State-wide survey recently concluded by the Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industry. As a result of a house-to-house canvass costing more than half a million dollars, it was found that 624,526 persons out of the 1,808,840 normally eligible for employment within the State were without jobs on June 13, 1934. Housewives, students, persons unable or unwilling to work, the retired and the aged were excluded from the count. If we are to assume, as certain labor leaders have assumed, that the Massachusetts situation is typical and that the same proportion of unemployed workers—34½ per cent—exists throughout the country, the total number of jobless would appear to be approximately 17,000,000. There is reason to believe, however, that conditions in Massachusetts, an industrial State badly hit by the depression, are somewhat worse than in the nation as a whole. A much more satisfactory basis of estimate may be obtained by comparing the amount of unemployment in Massachusetts today with that shown in the census figures for 1930, and applying the same ratio to the figures for the entire country. By this method we find the increase in unemployment over the 1930 estimate to be 387 per cent. Assuming that the same situation holds true elsewhere, the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

total number of jobless in the United States at present must be close to 12,500,000. Recent studies in Philadelphia and other localities tend to verify this estimate. There is a challenge in the mere presentation of these figures which we trust will not be entirely lost. It is a serious reflection on our government that after five years of depression we do not know within two or three million the extent of our unemployment. It is a much greater reflection, however, that we have no more idea now than four years ago how we are going to deal with the basic crisis of which unemployment is but a symptom.

THE PROMISED ABOLITION of child labor in the beet-sugar industry under contracts about to be offered by the AAA will remind the public that large numbers of children still are employed in this country. Those taken out of industry under NRA codes number about 60,000. The amendment of the code which is to regulate the employment of children by newspapers is still under negotiation. But it is in agriculture that the largest number of children were and still are being exploited, and here the effect of the New Deal is being felt for the first time. The number of children in the beet-sugar industry is about 15,000. Only those under fourteen will be forbidden to work, but those between fourteen and sixteen are to be limited to the eight-hour day. No figures are available for the number of children "gainfully employed" this year in agriculture as a whole. In 1930 the census figure was 469,000, of whom 205,000 were from ten to thirteen years old. Allowing for the great reduction in the use of child labor since 1930, the number of children still exploited can be no less than 150,000. This does not include children helping their parents on home farms, who still are beyond the reach of protective legislation and contract agreements. In the main these 150,000 children are employed with their parents on contract jobs—in the cotton fields of the South and in vegetable gardens and fruit orchards in all parts of the country.

THE DEGRADATION of the beet-sugar industry has been a by-word for years. As a rule workers without families have not been able to accept contracts in the beet fields. The families are sheltered by the growers in tents, shacks, or adobe houses, under conditions of overcrowding equaled only in city slums. Average earnings per worker for the season were estimated by Charles E. Gibbon of the National Child Labor Committee at $52 last year. Most families managed to supplement their beet incomes, but average earnings for the entire year were not over $78. The fate of the child born into one of these families has been pitiful. Children as young as seven have toiled with their parents for cruelly long hours. In 1920, 85 per cent of the children engaged in thinning beets were working from nine to fourteen hours a day, and 75 per cent of those engaged in pulling and topping from nine to thirteen hours. These hours prevailed last year in most districts. In Colorado children of contracting families leave school in April and do not return until the harvest is over in November. If the proposals for the new contracts are carried out, one needed reform will be made in that wages in the industry will be promptly paid. In past years untold misery has come to many families because of the delay in payments or, in many cases, complete default. Minimum wages, which had been expected since an announcement of the AAA in June, will not be enforced until next year. The proceeds of the processing tax on sugar should have gone first of all to assure a tolerable standard of life for the workers in the beet fields. But the abolition of child labor in this industry, even if it stops at children of fourteen, is a noteworthy milestone.

THE 1,200 Hungarian striking coal miners buried alive of their own volition in a black pit a thousand feet underground provided the world with a symbol of human despair and mass courage that can scarcely be forgotten until economic oppression ceases to be the lot of the great majority of human beings. The fact that the miners were demanding an increase in wages from $2 to $3.50 a week and that the demand was only partially granted gives a final ironic touch to the dark picture. It is no accident that its setting was Hungary, which has been shrouded for fifteen years in a reaction as black as any coal mine. But the conditions which induced the strike are not confined to Hungary. The miners of Pecs, indeed, followed the example of another group of miners not far away within the borders of Jugoslavia, who stayed underground twenty-four hours in protest against a cut in pay. In this case the government forced a settlement before the dramatic news got into the world press. The story was told by Louis Adamic in *The Nation* of August 29. In Hungary the terror has smothered every form of protest, but the miners of Pecs have demonstrated that there are still resources open to the human spirit. Hunger itself can become a weapon to be turned against the oppressor.

PERHAPS THE MOST NAIVE of the many panaceas which are being brought forward as solutions of our economic difficulties is the old-age pension scheme devised by Dr. F. E. Townsend of that most remarkable of States—California. Dr. Townsend's plan has certain superficial resemblances to Upton Sinclair's EPIC and the proposals of the Utopian Society, but it is much simpler in form and more direct in action. Instead of the beggarly $50 a month which Mr. Sinclair or the Utopians would provide the aged, Dr. Townsend would give $200 a month to all persons over sixty years of age, on the condition that they refrain from remunerative labor and that they spend this money within the boundaries of the United States within the thirty-day period. Thus the depression would be attacked simultaneously on two fronts. The withdrawal of approximately eight million persons from gainful employment would make room for at least that number of younger men now unable to obtain work, while the creation of an estimated two billion dollars of additional purchasing power each month would stimulate unprecedented business activity. This vast sum would be obtained by a general sales tax of 10 per cent on all purchases. (Actually it would have to be nearly 100 per cent on the basis of the present national income.) The tremendous popularity of the scheme—as illustrated by the fact that over two million signatures have already been obtained for a petition urging its immediate adoption by Congress—indicates the extent to which popular sentiment in this country is coming to demand some form of security for the aged. If the government does not supply an intelligent and comprehensive plan for economic security, there is danger that crank schemes such as this may be pushed through, even though they endanger the very existence of our present economic system.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Aftermath of Marseilles

IT is still far too early to weigh the full effects of the tragic event which occurred at Marseilles on October 9. Although certain features of the crime remind us uncomfortably of the fateful assassination at Sarajevo twenty years ago, it would be a mistake to attach too much significance to this apparent similarity. The differences between the two tragedies outweigh the resemblances. Unlike Archduke Ferdinand, and fortunately for the peace of Europe, King Alexander was not killed in a hostile country; his assassin was a fellow-countryman—though possibly financed from abroad; and the murder of Louis Barthou is a guaranty that Jugoslav feeling will not turn against France. But the tragedy at Marseilles cannot but have grave reverberations. The most serious of these will doubtless occur in Jugoslavia itself, where, as Louis Adamic points out elsewhere in this issue, the ruling Serbian clique is intensely unpopular with the Croatians, Slovenes, Montenegrins, Macedonians, and other minority groups. Barring the emergence of a leader possessed of a remarkable talent for conciliation, it is a foregone conclusion that the country will be torn with internal dissension, and it is not beyond possibility that this may extend to the point where Jugoslavia will cease to exist as a nation.

The immediate effect of the assassinations, however, has been to accentuate the existing tension between Jugoslavia and its traditional enemies—Hungary and Italy. Feeling against Hungary is particularly acute because of the belief, which doubtless has some foundation, that the Croatian terrorist organization responsible for the murders was sheltered and perhaps aided by the Hungarian government. Similar accusations against Italy are colored by the fact that for the past month the Jugoslav and the Italian press have been engaged in a heated controversy over the number of occasions on which their respective armies had taken to their heels in face of the enemy. This childish contest had reached such a stage that Mussolini himself, three days before the murders, felt called upon to warn Jugoslavia against continued irritations. Fortunately there is no evidence that the Italian government had any hand in the killings, and Rome has shown exemplary restraint in the face of anti-Italian demonstrations at Split, Ljubljana, and Sarajevo. Nevertheless, the assassinations have destroyed any prospect of an early understanding between the two countries such as Barthou hoped to achieve as a result of King Alexander's visit. And what is true of Jugoslavia is almost certain to be true also of the Little Entente, for the three countries continue to work in close accord in their foreign relations. The one really hopeful aspect of the situation lies in the possibility that estrangement with Italy will strengthen the alliance of the Little Entente with France and prevent it from falling under Nazi influence.

From the standpoint of Europe as a whole, the death of Louis Barthou may prove even more unsettling than that of Alexander. Although a conservative in his political sympathies, Barthou was distinctly liberal in his foreign policies and a not unworthy successor to Aristide Briand. In the brief time that he had occupied the post of Foreign Minister he had made a greater contribution to peace than any other statesman in Europe, save possibly Litvinov. While he is blamed for having broken up the disarmament conference in its last stages of senility by a particularly tactless speech, he had more than made up for that damage by his tireless devotion to his fundamental objective—European security. Pierre Laval, who succeeds him, though an experienced diplomat, will be much less acceptable in many of the more important capitals of Europe. It will be recalled, for example, that during Laval's term as Premier, in 1931, relations between France and the Soviet Union were still far from cordial, while Berlin also is reported to be cool to his appointment.

The possible complications arising from Barthou's untimely death are almost without number. It was largely because of his influence and indomitable energy that the Soviet Union was admitted to the League of Nations. Shoulder to shoulder with Litvinov, he worked unceasingly to obtain the adoption of the so-called Eastern Locarno, which would have given at least temporary security to the war-frightened countries of Eastern Europe. While it might be argued that his policies were an inevitable reaction to the rise of Hitler in Germany, there is danger that a more conservative Foreign Minister, such as Laval, may turn aside from close cooperation with the Soviet Union and allow Europe to balance once more on the brink of perpetual political uncertainty. Even more striking than the understanding with Soviet Russia was Barthou's apparent success in achieving a reconciliation with Italy on issues that had been bitterly contested for years. It was believed that his projected visit to Rome in November would see the completion of this task; but now, with the uncertainties in the French political situation and the probable weakening of Jugoslavia, Mussolini may be expected to adopt a more independent attitude. At the very least we may expect Franco-Italian rapprochement to be delayed until the atmosphere clears; at the worst it may fail completely. And failure would play directly into the hands of Hitler and create a serious breach in the iron ring which by Barthou's diplomacy had all but encircled the Third Reich.

Despite these disturbing possibilities it is probably safe to predict that the repercussions of the Marseilles tragedy will be rather less than would appear at this moment. It would be rash indeed to maintain that Sarajevo brought about the World War. Similarly there is little reason to believe that even so dramatic an event as the murder of a king and a foreign minister will do more than hasten developments along channels that have already been prepared. It will doubtless add to the confusion of the moment and delay the fulfilment of France's dream of security, but it will not materially affect any of the more important problems facing the Continent. Nevertheless, the fact that the crime could have been committed and that it should have thrown the entire world into a state of panic illustrates graphically the fundamental instability of the European political situation. It is a solemn reminder that despite recent progress we are still not far removed from catastrophe.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Vertical Union Wins

AFTER more than fifty years of attachment to craft-union ideals and practices the American Federation of Labor has finally been overtaken by the inevitable. Recognizing for the first time in its history what has been patent ever since modern industrialism came of age—that mass-production methods are incompatible with a handicraft union structure—the federation will henceforth attempt to "organize the unorganized" through industrial unions. More concretely, the Executive Council has been authorized to issue international charters to the new federal unions which have come into being since June, 1933, in the automobile, cement, aluminum, and other industries. These federal unions are already vertical in structure. Their membership, all-inclusive, runs the entire occupational range, from the skilled crafts to common labor. And the privilege of the international charter will in time assure to the new vertical unions that autonomy which is essential for their independent growth. In reaching this decision the A. F. of L. took a historic step forward. Traditionally the federation has had two principal functions: first, to unite the forces of organized labor for the purpose of pressure politics; second, to mark out lines of craft jurisdiction within which constituent units should be sovereign. Now a third policy emerges: the unorganized sectors of American industry must be unionized, and the workers employed therein must be organized industry by industry. If carried out in good faith and with energy, this policy will in time transform the federation. The building and the metal trades, craft-union strongholds, will lose their predominance. Power will pass to the present industrial bloc—miners, needle trades, textile workers—reinforced by the internationals presently to be created.

It would be an error, however, to imagine that the A. F. of L. has courageously met, chapter and verse, the challenge of Section 7-a and the codes. The new policy is hedged about with limits, safeguards, and qualifications on both the theoretical and practical sides. Theoretically the federation distinguishes two types of situations: first, fields in which, by the nature of the industry, "the lines of demarcation between the crafts are distinguishable"—in such industries, where the bulk of the A. F. of L.'s strength is now concentrated, the old craft unions will continue their sovereign rule; second, the industries where mass-production methods have obliterated the lines of demarcation between crafts. To this field the new industrial unions will be narrowly restricted. On the practical side the new industrial unions will not be granted their immediate independence. Instead, "the federation shall for a provisional period direct the policies, administer the policies, and designate the administrative and financial officers of such newly organized unions." In short, Mr. Green and his fellows will handpick the officers and direct the destinies of the new industrial unions.

The new policy must be read in the context of the federation's other accomplishments at San Francisco. In a shameful display of craft-union thinking at its worst, the convention reaffirmed its 1933 decision on the brewery workers' dispute. The unions which are intent on tearing the brewery workers apart—the teamsters, firemen, and operating engineers—were once again authorized to take jurisdiction over the crafts which they claim as their own job monopolies. Again, it was depressing to view the explosion that seems to have blown the Building Trades Department to bits. If anything more than jurisdictional gluttony is at issue in that industry, it has not yet been disclosed. Finally, the Metal Trades Department reiterated its faith in the virtue of maintaining craft lines intact. This avowal does not, like the building-trades controversy, raise the danger of jurisdictional strikes. But it does render unlikely the prospect of a successful organizational campaign in the iron and steel industry.

The convention adopted a program calling for reorganization of the NRA on a permanent basis, reopening of codes on the initiative of labor in order to increase employment and wages, and labor representation on code-enforcement bodies. It approved a campaign for the thirty-hour week, demanded federal action in abolishing the company union, and advocated extension of the recovery program to include agricultural workers. It also reaffirmed the German boycott. For the rest, Mr. Green's steam roller worked efficiently to suppress any expressions of progressive thought. Resolutions calling for the creation of an independent labor party, for the withdrawal of union officers from official participation in the NRA, for a discussion of the status of labor in Soviet Russia, all were stifled by parliamentary gags. The question of the status of the black worker in the organized labor movement was referred to a committee which will report back next year. It is significant that Mr. Woll's threatened anti-red campaign failed to materialize. Were the federation's officers afraid to risk the discovery that a militant spirit was permeating the rank and file of the delegates? Or did they suddenly become wise, and perceive that the federation's true task was to carry forward the organizational drive, not to engage in a hunt for heretics?

Threat to a Free Press

ONCE more the liberty of the press is endangered. Once more its defenders are to be found in the ranks of that well-known radical organization, the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. It is primarily Elisha Hanson, the association's paid legal representative in Washington, the same Mr. Hanson who made such an inglorious and unsuccessful fight against most of the worthwhile features of the newspaper code, who is now showing up the sins of the Roosevelt Administration. Speaking to the New Jersey Press Association's Institute, he declared that "every bureau in every department of the government has its bureau of information, the sole reason for the existence of which is to see that only that news approved by the head of the department reaches the public." The newspaper representatives, Mr. Hanson declared, are thus unable to obtain the full story, with the result that "the freedom of the press is restricted." It is enough to make every friend of liberty in America lose his sleep—except that newspaper correspondents in Washington have been protesting against official "handouts" for generations. Twenty years ago the office of a newspaper correspondent in Washington was stuffed with mimeographed statements intended to make reporting easy and in accordance with the desires of the Administration.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Did the honest correspondents of that generation meekly accept these hand-outs and so abandon the liberty of the press? They did not. They threw them into the wastebasket, or used them as a tip and went out and got their own stories. And every newspaperman worthy of his salt in Washington is doing the same thing today.

Surely Mr. Hanson would not suggest that the Republican newspapers in opposition to the New Deal are printing only what the government gives them about what is happening in Washington today? He knows perfectly well that even the statements of President Roosevelt are accompanied by elucidations and comments giving the opposite side, often with severe criticism. The fact is that never since the foundation of the government have the men in office, except in rare instances, done anything else than try to get reporters, editors, and press associations to value their services at their own figures. Not only is the practice of establishing information bureaus not a threat to the liberties of the press, but if these bureaus are intelligently conducted, they offer statistical aid to the news gatherer, and are also a challenge to him to go behind the figures and dig out his story for himself.

What makes this performance of Mr. Hanson's so unpleasant is that the great bulk of the newspaper publishers he represents are the very ones who have never been able to lift their voices or use their pens in protest against the unceasing genuine abuses of liberty that have gone on in increasing measure ever since the World War. Editors and proprietors like those of the Chicago *Tribune* and the Chicago *Daily News* were not in the least interested when Norman Thomas was arrested in New Jersey for reading the Constitution of the United States to a group of four or five friends; they approved the denial of civil liberties in the recent strike at San Francisco; they never see anything wrong in strikers or radicals being refused the right to meet and discuss their grievances or peacefully to picket when they strike. They are the most utterly selfish men imaginable in their defense of the liberty of the press. Except for their opposition—admirable and thoroughly warranted—to an indefensible statute in Minnesota which would have fettered editorial opinion, these gentlemen move only when their own ox is gored, or, to put it better, when they think that they can score against the Administration and the New Deal.

At the very moment when Mr. Hanson was making his attack, Secretary Ickes, speaking in Chicago, declared that he rejoiced because, while the Administration was using the radio more than ever to inform the people of what was going on, those opposed to the Administration were also resorting to it more frequently. He not only declared this to be "entirely proper," but went on to say that "it would be bad for the country as well as for the Administration if there were no opposition able to express itself." But the next day another representative of the American Publishers' Association brought up the danger of government control, "dictation, and domination of radio programs," and warned that if we accept it, "it will not be a far step until our governmental leaders may seek to influence the presentation of news in our daily press." Here, too, the attitude of the publishers is hypocritical beyond words. Nobody censors news and suppresses facts more freely than do many of the newspaper publishers in this country. But apparently they want a monopoly of the practice against which so many of their employees now organized in guilds are beginning to protest.

Going Native

SOME days ago the "play jury" offered its resignation to the Pulitzer prize authorities. This action need cause no surprise after the strange events of last spring, when the recommendations of the jury were disregarded without explanation and its members were left looking very foolish indeed. For some reason, however, none of the departing jurors has assigned this snub direct as the cause of his resignation, and one, at least, professes to be dissatisfied chiefly with a new condition which the prize-winning play must fulfil. Perhaps this formal reason is not his real one, but it happens to be quite sufficient in itself.

Mr. Pulitzer, it will be remembered, wanted the award to go to that play which "shall best represent the educational value and power of the stage." The spirit of contemporary literature being what it is, really qualified candidates were difficult to find if one took the phrase in its conventional sense, and on more than one occasion the award went to dramas of which the least that could be said was that they were not very much like what the original donor had in mind. Yet having experienced the difficulty imposed by limiting regulations, and having quite properly disregarded them when it saw fit, the so-called Advisory Board now proceeds to tie itself up again with a new definition. Henceforth the prize-winner must be not simply the best American play of the year but also one "preferably dealing with American life." Of course the new regulation is more in accord with the spirit of the times than the old one was. Morality has gone out of fashion and the contemporary scene has come in. But it is hardly less likely than was the old to make the prize ridiculous if the directors really follow it to the extent of passing over the best play of the year merely because its author did not happen to lay his scene somewhere between the r.r. coast of Maine and the s.k. shores of California.

If the intention is merely to see that the plays which receive the awards are plays which are modern in spirit and relevant to the life of the day, then that is what the regulations should provide. But surely anyone who knows anything about literary history knows very well that a truly native play—one, that is to say, which represents a native attitude toward situations having a real meaning for native Americans—does not necessarily have to have a scene laid in America. The most conservative taste would hesitate to assert that Edwin Arlington Robinson's "Tristram" is not an American poem because its subject is a Celtic legend, nor would the most radical defender of the thesis that art is a weapon care to admit that a playwright could not write a play about the Russian Revolution without becoming un-American.

Surely no one was ever more English than Shakespeare, surely no plays ever contributed more directly than his did to the establishment of a truly national culture; yet not a single one of his greatest works has a scene laid in England. There was no Pulitzer prize in his day and he got along very well without it, but if there had been one, "Hamlet" could not have won it. Neither could "Othello," or "King Lear." Mr. Pulitzer may have been tender where "morals and good manners" are concerned, but we doubt if even he wanted to discourage an American Shakespeare.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Issues and Men

Safety at Sea Again

WE Americans are very prone to become tremendously excited when a great disaster occurs, and then to promise all sorts of immediate legislation to improve conditions. But after the disaster is over, we sit back, forget about it in the rush of new events, and little if anything is accomplished. So with disasters on the sea. The loss of the Titanic undoubtedly improved lifeboat conditions and resulted in the admirable ice patrol so efficiently carried on by the United States Coast Guard. But ever since 1929 when an International Convention for Safety of Life at Sea, in the making of which we participated, was drawn up, we have refused to do anything about it. To date this convention has been ratified by no fewer than eighteen maritime nations, but for some reason or other, possibly opposition by the Seamen's Union, the United States has not yet ratified it. Why the Seamen's Union or any other organization should oppose this convention, I cannot understand. It may, of course, not go far enough for them. But surely half a loaf is better than no bread, particularly as Article 61 of the treaty creates machinery for revision and development of its clauses. Why on earth should we hold off? If we refuse to ratify this treaty we shall discourage any further efforts to improve conditions at sea by international action. If we had ratified it we should now be in a position to move for the fireproofing of all passenger vessels to be built hereafter. Surely President Roosevelt should have his attention called to this situation. There is no reason why he could not bring about the ratification of this international agreement if he wished it.

But there are still other ways in which conditions at sea could be improved. The question of lifeboats has not been worked out. In *The Nation* for December 12, 1928, soon after the Vestris disaster, Captain Felix Riesenberg pointed out that "ocean hazards have increased ten thousandfold with the vast increase of size, speed, and number of ships afloat." He declared that the whole lifeboat situation should be gone over, and that boats should be built of a radically different design and construction from those now used. They should, he thought, be specially built of steel, shaped somewhat like short, blunt-ended spindles, with launching ways so arranged that the boats could be dropped on either side of the ship, depending on the list. "The art of engineering," he wrote, "must supersede the tangled mess of rope and gear now provided by law for launching boats." I have just been rereading the official testimony in the case of the sinking of the Lusitania, and here, too, it was stated that boats were crushed against the sides of the vessel in the process of lowering them, with the resultant loss of many lives. Despite the invention of the Welin davits, in the main the process of lowering a lifeboat has practically not been improved since the days of the Spanish Armada—yet shipbuilding has advanced mechanically by leaps and bounds. There still remains the question of how the boats should be manned and handled after they reach the water. There is a statutory provision requiring a certain number of expert seamen to man them, but these are increasingly difficult to obtain. With the disappearance of the sailing vessel there is no longer a training school for sailors. As has so often been pointed out, the modern steamship deckhand is not a sailor at all but a semi-mechanic and a full-fledged paint-chipper and painter. All the more reason why a lifeboat should be as non-sinkable and non-capsizable as those in use by the Coast Guards at our lifesaving stations.

How can one expect stewards to be efficient in disaster when they are so overworked and underpaid? I have received a letter from a reader in California approving of my article on the Morro Castle disaster *(The Nation,* September 26). He served eighteen months on one of the newest and most luxurious passenger boats on the Pacific Coast and has hardly a good word to say for the stewards; some of them he says are perverts, some criminals, some decent people, some college men out to see the world, but all are treated with similar lack of consideration by the companies and their ship officers. They are petty grafters or beggars for tips because they are compelled to be so. Their lives are not even insured. In other maritime countries sailors are covered by workmen's compensation laws. The United States has refused to follow this practice, although a slight amendment to the Federal Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act would make it possible to include seamen. But before this every man on the ship should be decently paid and treated as a human being.

As to the passengers, why should they not be protected by compulsory insurance so that they would be compensated immediately, regardless of the liability or the negligence of the company owning the ship, and without having to go through long and costly litigation to obtain recompense? In the case of the Morro Castle a statute passed eighty years ago has just been dug up which would limit the liability of the Ward Line to a most trifling sum. Compulsory insurance is obviously a need of the hour, and an English authority, Sir Norman Hill, has shown that every passenger could be thus protected for an exceedingly small amount of money.

Poor Mr. Roosevelt has so many things being urged upon him to do as absolutely essential that one hesitates to recommend one additional thing. But there are men in New York, plenty of them, entirely competent, whom he could appoint as a volunteer commission to draft the necessary legislation for him to recommend to Congress for immediate passage. If it is done immediately on the convening of Congress that body will certainly act promptly under the stimulus of the Morro Castle disaster. If action is put off for several years we shall see the same old American forgetfulness and indifference throw away the lessons of the horrible loss of life on the Morro Castle.

Oswald Garrison Villard

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What Next in Jugoslavia?

By LOUIS ADAMIC

WHEN Alexander died of assassin's bullets, he became a triad. The three men he had designated to rule for little Peter possess among themselves all the important characteristics of the slain monarch, who no doubt had selected them for that reason.

Cousin Paul, who officially heads the Regency, is a medium-sized, shy, decadently handsome fellow of forty-two, charming and democratic in personal intercourse, as was Alexander. I saw him in the summer of 1932 at Lake Bohin, Slovenia, where he has a hunting lodge. He has no outstanding qualities. Born in St. Petersburg of a wastrel father, the late King Peter's brother, and a rich Russian noblewoman, he lived long in England and France, leading an extravagantly bohemian life. When Alexander became King, Paul attached himself to the Belgrade court and in the last decade has sponsored art exhibitions and sporting events, dedicated public buildings, acted as godfather to triplets born in peasant villages, and served as an officer in the Royal Guard. These were his public functions. Secretly, he was Alexander's confidential agent in his dealings with Zaharoff and French and Czech munitions manufacturers. He supervised the bringing into Jugoslavia of more than 12,000 carloads of war materials and cooperated with the important Serb generals in Belgrade. Now he will do the bidding of General Tomich, commanding the Belgrade garrison, who is one of the vice-regents, and the General Staff. As their yes-man and, of course, also because he is a Karageorgevich—though a nervous, timid weakling—he possibly will be the most important member of the trinity, for a while at any rate. He will administer Alexander's vast industrial holdings and generally promote the interests of the Karageorgevich dynasty. But his charm may not be over-effective in Jugoslavia in the long run, for it is more British and French than Balkan charm.

Next in importance in the trinity is Radenko Stankovich, an Orthodox Serb, not a Croat, as reported in the press. Before the war he was a physician in Zagreb, Croatia. After the formation of Jugoslavia he established himself in Belgrade and became politically a "Greater Serb," an adherent to the idea, never publicly articulated, that the former Austrian territories inhabited by Croats and Slovenes are subject provinces of Belgrade, whose destiny is to become a Balkan Paris, the center of Balkan power, which will repose in Serb hands. Publicly, of course, he subscribes to *jugoslavenstvo,* the idea of making Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes into a homogeneous people in a firmly established state; but when a "Greater Serb" says *jugoslavenstvo,* he means that Croats and Slovenes, who have cultures and religions of their own, will have to become Serbs and members of the Greek Catholic church. Actually he is, as was Alexander, a species of nationalist-imperialist, at one with the big business men of Belgrade and the generals, all of whom are Serbs.

Stankovich reached his present high station through his profession. Alexander suffered for years from mysterious abdominal pains which baffled Viennese and Parisian specialists. Finally Dr. Stankovich was called, and he promptly diagnosed the trouble as a spasmodic nervous condition not at all serious, and prescribed a successful treatment. Brilliant, efficient, he made a good impression on his royal patient, who soon discovered that the doctor was not only a great diagnostician but in many other respects a man after his own heart. In 1932 Alexander made him Minister of Education, in which capacity I met him early in 1933, after he had written asking me to look him up when I came to Belgrade; he had heard I was planning to write a book on Jugoslavia.

When I called on him in his *kabinet,* I said I did not want to keep him long; there were so many persons and delegations with petitions from the provinces waiting in the anteroom that I knew he was busy. Oh, I needn't worry about them, said he; they could wait. In his late forties, short, compact, energetic, well-dressed, with a strong, vivid face and brilliant, penetrating, cool, hard eyes, he did all the talking. He had been to America, and told me what he thought of the United States. In one connection he said that Irving Fisher was a great economist. I managed to get in a remark of disagreement, which Stankovich scowled aside: Professor Fisher *was* great. He lectured to me about America for an hour, then summoned a secretary and ordered him to take the official limousine and chauffeur and drive me about and show me this and that in Belgrade, so I would write an interesting book about Jugoslavia. He seemed to imply that Belgrade was Jugoslavia.

From other sources I later confirmed my impression of Stankovich as an extreme egoist. His face has the cool hardness of an able, ambitious man. His whole background being upper bourgeois, he is liberal only in cultural matters and purely personal ethics within his class and profession. He admires success and disdains the erring and lowly. Generous as a doctor and patron of the arts, he often is cruel and spiteful as a man and politician. He is opposed to higher education for peasant boys and girls, for they tend to become Communists, and as Minister of Education he imposed high fees in universities. When students in Belgrade and Zagreb demonstrated against this order, he had gendarmes suppress them with sabers and rifle butts, killing a few and arresting and imprisoning scores. After the riots he closed the universities for weeks. Reopening them, he stationed gendarmes in the corridors. This terrorism made him extremely hated by the students, most of whom are leftists, and early in 1934 he was relieved as Minister of Education, though Alexander fully approved of his policies. As is now apparent, the King had him slated for a regent in the event of his own death and did not want him to become still more unpopular. As a regent, in internal politics he will mouth the great ideals of *jugoslavenstvo* and do everything possible, as did Alexander, for Greater Serbia, for Belgrade, at the expense of the country as a whole. Great and forceful egoist that he is, he will try to dominate the Regency.

Ivan Perovich seems to me the best man in the trinity. I met him in his office in the governor's palace in Zagreb. Short, slight, shabby, middle-aged, with a troubled look in his deep-set Balkan eyes, he is in his own way a remarkable

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man; and if anything good comes of the present set-up I expect it will come mainly through him. He represents the best side of the late King-Dictator, who did have a good side. Perovich is not a Croat, as reported, but a so-called Arbanas, descendant of an Illyrian clan from Albania whose members settled centuries ago near Zara, in Dalmatia, now occupied by Italy. Although racially not a Slav, he is ideologically a passionate, consistent Jugoslav, believing in *jugoslavenstvo,* the essential, natural homogeneity of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes—as distinguished from the imperialist "Greater Serbia" idea—in which Alexander, too, occasionally believed but which he never actually supported.

Perovich holds that a ruler should know every detail of his realm thoroughly and rule it personally—one reason he approved of Alexander. As Governor of Croatia, he knew every hamlet, brook, and footpath in his province. If drought ruined crops in a certain section, he himself went to the scene. A man of great concentration and immense capacity for work, he was at his desk fourteen, sixteen hours daily. In this respect he almost surpassed the King. A brilliant administrator, he is said to have done a lot for Croatia in the four years he was in office—and this in spite of the intense political opposition to him throughout the province, which was due mainly to the fact that he was an appointee of Alexander and as such was carrying out the dictator's will for repression and terror. He believes more in tact and gloved firmness than in repression and brutal terror, but as governor he believed also in obeying orders and held that Alexander and his efficient Serb military machine deserved, at least temporarily, the support of every Jugoslav, if for no other reason than that Jugoslavia was surrounded by enemy states under the influence of Italy. Occasionally, I suppose, he also thought that some of the terror directed against the Croats from Belgrade was necessary. And as the King's representative he drew upon himself the hate of nationalist and leftist Croats—the majority—who, when I was there, were referring to him as the "gendarme." Tact, firmness, hard work, and fanatical devotion to duty as he sees it will, I think, continue to be his principles as a regent, but he probably will yield much—at first, anyhow—to Stankovich and Paul; to Alexander's will that the Karageorgevich dynasty be continued at all costs; to big business and the military cabal in Belgrade.

These three men, two of them strong and able individuals, momentarily hold in their hands the immediate future of Jugoslavia and, to a lesser extent, of Europe. None of them has any solid political support in the masses; all have enemies. An attempt on Perovich's life occurred only four months ago. Together they approximate Alexander, and even excel him in hardness and capacity for work, but the triad is far weaker than was the late dictator. Although Alexander doubtless had given them detailed instructions as to how they might get along, they are bound to clash. Behind each of them will be all sorts of contradictory economic, political, regional, and foreign interests. Just now, when the country finds itself in a dramatic and critical moment, with the dead king barely buried and the new king only a child, and uncertainty in the air all over Europe, the Regency has considerable emotional sympathy from the people, which, however, will soon be overwhelmed by antagonisms and contradictions inherent in the country's economic and political realities, far more serious now than they were before the assassination. In the face of these the Regency can do one of two things—try to iron out some of the antagonisms and contradictions by allowing a coalition government in which important opposition leaders would be given ministerial posts, or simply continue Alexander's terror rule. With Stankovich and the generals and business racketeers dominating the Regency, the probability is that it will follow the latter course. A great deal depends on what General Pero Zivkovich, commander of the Royal Guard and the first Premier under the dictatorship, will do. He recently had differences with Alexander. The other Serb generals, too, are not wholly at one on every point. Some are Francophiles; others strongly incline toward Hitler.

There are numerous other internal factors. What will Matchek, leader of the Croatian Peasant Party, do? Will Svetozar Pribichevich, leader of the liberal and democratic Serbs, now in exile, have the wisdom to refuse to join any coalition under the present Regency, if a coalition is attempted and he is invited to return?

I believe the Regency will be short-lived and poor little Peter probably will return to his school in England. The ludicrousness of having a boy king will tend to augment republican sentiment throughout the country, and it is not impossible, if the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes are permitted by the big Powers to begin to solve their own problems, that within a year or two Jugoslavia will be a union of four semi-autonomous republics—Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, and Macedonia—with Belgrade as federal capital. If that happens, the next desirable—and, I think, inevitable—development will be a revolution in Bulgaria, which then will become the fifth republic in the Jugoslav federation; for Bulgars are also Jugoslavs. Whereupon the Balkans will be more or less done with Western Europe so far as politico-military alliances are concerned. Russia, whether czarist or bolshevik, is their natural ally.

But before that happens, Jugoslavia, in her foreign relations, will find herself between two millstones—France and Germany. She will be clear only in her dislike of Italy. If France becomes Italy's ally against Germany, as is likely, Jugoslavia may be forced to turn to Hitler.

The immediate situation is an immensely complex, dangerous one. So much depends on whether or not it is proved that either Italy or Hungary, or both, were behind the assassination. If that is proved, a new world war is probable within a few months. And if a war comes, Jugoslavia, like the rest of Europe, is anybody's game—with the odds in favor of the Communists, who are numerous throughout the Balkans, but have no chance without a war and international confusion, because the Western Powers would not tolerate communism in a small country and Russia momentarily cannot afford to back a revolution anywhere.

For very good reasons of their own, Macedonian and Croat nationalist-separatists, supported as it appears by Italy or Hungary or both, killed Alexander, but Macedonia and Croatia, I believe, will not separate from Jugoslavia, in spite of all the blunders of Alexander and the "Greater Serbs" in Belgrade. Nor will Slovenia. If the Jugoslavs are given half a chance by the foreign Powers to work out their salvation, Jugoslavia, after the present Regency fails, will loosen up, I think, into a federation of republics and thus become more united than it ever was or could have been under Alexander.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Taxation in the New Social State

II. Public Budgeting

By A. E. BUCK

REGARDLESS of its political environment, a system of public finance may be said to depend for its continuity and effectiveness upon the extent to which it utilizes the process of planning and control, now commonly termed public budgeting. If a government does not obtain year after year, or within a reasonable period, enough taxes and other revenues to cover its total expenditures, it will eventually accumulate a deficit which will lead to the necessity of debt repudiation, the cessation of essential activities, and finally a state of insolvency and complete impotence.

Although many Americans regard budgeting as a recent development in government, such is not the case. Nearly two centuries ago the budget was fairly well established as an essential part of the British parliamentary system. It was initiated in France more than a hundred years ago. Then it was gradually adopted by other European countries, by Japan, and by the British dominions. But as late as the beginning of the present century the United States was still without an established budgetary practice. Only within the last twenty-five years have we made some progress, although merely a beginning, in budgetary development, first in the cities, then in the States, and finally in the federal government. The National Budget and Accounting Act was not passed until 1921.

As applied in the various countries of the world, the budget may be said to have three essential elements: (1) a financial plan, (2) a procedure for formulating, authorizing, executing, and controlling this plan, and (3) some governmental agency responsible for each successive step in this procedure. When viewed as a plan, the budget sets forth the monetary requirements of a government for a definite future period—usually a year—and in doing so exhibits a balanced relation between anticipated income and estimated outgo. As a procedure, the budget involves certain definite steps: first, in preparing estimates and framing the financial plan; second, in voting or adopting the plan; third, in carrying out the plan as authorized; and, fourth, in auditing and reviewing the resulting fiscal operation. The governmental agency responsible for each of these steps is determined more or less by the pattern of government under which the budget operates. In the United States, for example, the executive should be responsible for the first and third steps, while the legislature should be responsible for the second and fourth. The executive, by virtue of his authority over the administration, is in the key position not only to prepare the financial plan but also to carry it out. The legislature, according to its historic right, holds the purse-strings in our government. It accomplishes this through authorizing the financial plan presented to it by the executive, and through establishing accountability on the part of the executive for carrying out this plan. The latter feature, involving an audit and review of financial operations, is as yet far from being properly developed.

The most essential feature of the budget, as a financial plan, is equilibrium, that is, a balanced relation between revenue and expenditure. Under existing economic conditions, unbalanced budgets are among the most baffling problems that governmental authorities have to face. Ordinarily these authorities have attempted to balance their budgets by increasing tax rates, by decreasing expenditures, or by a combination of the two methods. And when they have failed by such methods, as has often happened, they have resorted to borrowing. The policy of contraction—enforced economies in expenditures—has apparently produced balanced budgets in a few instances. One of the most successful attempts to apply this policy is embodied in the so-called Premiers' Plan of Australia, which was carefully worked out on the basis of "equality of sacrifice" and adopted in 1931. It has been employed in the balancing of the Commonwealth and state budgets, and thus far has shown remarkable results.

Opposed to the policy of contraction in balancing the budget is the expansionist theory. The latter proposes the use of public credit to increase expenditures for capital improvements and to aid in the planned extension of private production. It is claimed that the effect of applying this theory, once its full force is felt in a country, is to increase revenues and to decrease unemployment relief. Thus the budget is eventually balanced; furthermore, the causes of budgetary disequilibrium are largely removed. The authorities of several governments have seemingly accepted this theory, at least in part, and have provided funds for a program of capital improvements and national development. The United States government has embarked upon such a program under the New Deal. It has not, however, gone whole-heartedly in this direction, but has attempted to carry out at the same time a policy of contraction with respect to the ordinary services of administration. While it is too early to indicate the economic effects of this approach to the problem of budgetary balancing, hopeful signs are not lacking.

A second essential feature of the budget is comprehensiveness, signifying that the budget includes all the financial requirements of the government, that no receipts or expenditures are omitted. The idea of budgetary comprehensiveness has not been particularly stressed in the United States, and has not as yet been widely realized. Not all the receipts and expenditures of the national government are shown in the budget, although this document is perhaps as comprehensive as any of the State or municipal budgets. In many State and municipal governments, the stock method of producing a balanced budget is to omit the requirements for certain governmental agencies and funds. Public-works requirements are frequently excluded from the general budgets of States and municipalities on the pretext that the necessary planning for such works cannot be done at the time the budgetary estimates are prepared. These budgets are therefore little more than programs for current expenditures. Both current and capital expenditures should be shown in the budget, with the means of financing in each

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

case clearly set forth. Capital expenditures may be effectively supported by long-term programs of development. These programs may be prepared for a period of five years without great difficulty and with a fair degree of accuracy, assuming that economic conditions are fairly stable. The experience of some American and British municipalities, as well as that of Soviet Russia, has demonstrated that five-year plans are feasible.

Budgetary unity is seriously affected by splitting the budget into two parts, ordinary and extraordinary. It is then possible to balance the ordinary budget by transferring to the extraordinary budget certain expenditure requirements which should be met from current revenues. The latter budget is balanced, if at all, by the use of public credit. In general, the tendency is for the two budgets to become separated, legislative attention being directed less and less to the extraordinary budget, which remains chronically out of balance. According to European experience, the extraordinary budget has shown serious weaknesses and has sometimes led to grave abuses, especially in France. Nevertheless, the United States government, on July 1, 1933, embarked upon a scheme for a so-called "double budget," which resembles in certain respects an ordinary and an extraordinary budget. This scheme anticipated that the ordinary expenditures would be met by the receipts from current revenues, while the extraordinary expenditures, to which were assigned all outlays arising from emergency legislation, would be met by moneys obtained from the sale of bonds.

As yet there is no established practice in the United States with respect to gross and net budgets. In an effort to produce comprehensive budgets, the present trend, if any, seems to be in the direction of gross budgeting. The requirements of undertakings, services, and funds, previously omitted, are now being brought into the budgets of the national, State, and municipal governments. However, at this time the budget of the national government is neither gross nor net, at least in so far as public undertakings are concerned. The requirements of the Panama Canal, for example, are included in the budget in gross amounts, while those of the Post Office Department appear simply as net deficits. Practically the same thing is true of the State and municipal budgets, the requirements of public undertakings appearing either in gross amounts or not at all. In many cases one would not know from an examination of these budgets that such undertakings even existed, except when it became necessary, owing to poor or incompetent management, to replenish wasted capital assets or to meet current operating deficits. Such practice is not net budgeting in the real sense of that term; moreover, it encourages loose financial administration on the part of the governmental authorities. Net budgeting can, however, be made quite effective, especially in relation to public undertakings. It simply requires an annexed or subsidiary budget for each of these undertakings, which is keyed into the general budget by carrying forward the net surplus or deficit.

While the technique of public budgeting is not of special interest to the layman, there are certain major handicaps to budgetary practices in the United States which should be touched upon. First, we have an inflexible scheme of federal organization which tends to separate national and State finances. There can be little doubt that this rigid federal structure hampers budgeting in the interest of all sections of the country, a handicap that unitary forms of government do not experience. The national government of the United States has practically nothing to say about the budgets of the forty-eight States and their local subdivisions, or the extent to which their governments may incur debts. Through improper handling of its finances, each State may create an embarrassing situation for the nation as a whole. No central machinery exists, such as some other federal governments have already found necessary, for coordinating in a degree the budgetary needs and required loans of the federal and State governments. A comprehensive plan for the coordination of federal and State finances should be worked out, which would require the application of budgetary methods on a uniform basis, the integration of federal and State revenue systems, the regulation of expenditures in keeping with the nature and importance of governmental tasks, and the supervision of indebtedness in all State and local units.

Secondly, the unwarranted separation of powers, especially between the legislative and the executive branches, is a stumbling-block to budgetary development in the United States. An intimate relationship between the two branches is necessary to perfect the working of the budget system. Under ordinary circumstances party control affords practically the only unifying force between the legislature and the executive; and even so, the habit of separation has become so strongly fixed that it often persists although both are controlled by the same political party or faction. Only under the pressure of major emergencies, when the legislature temporarily defers to the leadership of the executive, do the two branches actually work together. Efforts should be made in the national and State governments to bring the legislature and the executive into intimate contact and place greater responsibility upon the executive for the budgetary program. Certain devices to this end have been suggested: to give the executive the right to introduce financial and other measures in the legislature; to allow the executive the privileges of the floor to explain and defend his proposals; to permit the executive, in the case of a deadlock, to dissolve one or both houses of the legislature and to carry the issue to the electorate.

In spite of the handicaps just mentioned, it is possible to improve very greatly the budgetary methods of the United States. The executive's powers in the preparation of the budget for legislative consideration may be extended without in any way doing violence to the legislature's prerogatives under the American system of government. Furthermore, instead of restricting the executive's authority in carrying out the budget by detailed appropriations and numerous legal limitations of one kind or another, it is suggested that appropriations should be made in lump-sum amounts rather than in segregated items; that the administrative officers should not be permitted to spend these appropriations without the approval of the executive's central finance office; and that this approval should be obtained on the basis of monthly or quarterly programs of work prepared by such officers. It is also suggested that during the fiscal year comparison between revenue and expenditure, actual and prospective, should be made at frequent intervals, and that the executive should take steps to bring them into line with each other whenever the budgetary balance appears to be threatened.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It would be to the advantage of each State legislature in the United States to consolidate the committees having charge of budgetary matters into one joint committee which would consider all phases of the budget for both houses. It would be helpful, too, for the Governor, or his chief finance officer, to sit with this committee while it is discussing the budget. In Congress it would seem advisable to consolidate the committees of the two houses now dealing with budgetary matters so that one committee in each house would examine both the income and the expenditure sides of the budget, or even to go a step farther and establish a Joint Committee on the Budget. The use of committee-of-the-whole procedure has been suggested as a remedy for some of the abuses growing out of the standing-committee system of American legislative bodies. With the executive present on the legislative floor, such procedure would make it possible to stage a genuine discussion of the budget—a discussion that would arouse public interest in the problem from coast to coast.

Suitable financial machinery and methods, not to mention adequate personnel, are indispensable to the executive in carrying out the budget. These instrumentalities are either lacking or are defective in one way or another in many of our units of government. In the national government, for example, the Treasury Department needs some adjustments in its organizational machinery. Provision should be made for the exercise of real budgetary control through this department by transferring from the General Accounting Office its accounting functions, leaving with that office only the post-auditing and investigational functions. The central accounting system of the government should undoubtedly be maintained under the Treasury Department; the executive would thus have control over the sources of accounting information necessary to the realization of the budget. The Bureau of the Budget should be made, actually as well as legally, a part of the Treasury Department, thus obviating the present anomalous situation in which the President has two chief financial officers, the Secretary of the Treasury and the Director of the Budget.

Finally, the enforcement of accountability on the part of the executive for carrying out the budget is an important role of the legislature, now practically neglected in the United States. In the national and in nearly all the State governments the methods employed to enforce accountability at the present time are largely makeshifts—audits improperly performed and without legislative review. As a remedy for this situation in the national government it is suggested that the existing General Accounting Office should be reorganized into a General Auditing Office, headed by an Auditor General responsible to Congress. This office should be concerned mainly with post-auditing the accounts kept by the Treasury Department and by the various operating departments. Annually it should submit a report to Congress embodying its findings on all post-audits, its criticisms of faulty financial procedures, and its recommendations for improvements. To consider this report, it is suggested that Congress should create a joint Committee on Public Accounts, consisting of not more than fifteen members, with the chairman and a majority of the members selected from the party or parties in opposition to that of the President. This committee would then serve as a critical body for reviewing the financial operations of the government, censuring improper practices and administrative abuses, and recommending suitable action thereon to Congress.

[*This is the second of a series of ten articles on public finance, planned and edited by Professor Paul Studenski. The third, American Federal Finance, by Dr. William Withers, will appear next week.*]

The Ghost of Mediation

By RAYMOND GRAM SWING

Washington, October 15

MEMORIES are short if the President's proposal of a truce between capital and labor passes as the first of its kind. The first truce was asked when the National Labor Board was set up on August 5, 1933. At that time came "an appeal to management and labor for industrial peace," which, the President declared, "calls upon every individual in both groups to avoid strikes, lockouts, or any aggressive action during the recovery program."

What is new in the second truce proposal is that the President formally initiates it in a broadcast to all firesides; the other was laid before him by the industrial and labor advisory boards, and sponsored by him. But in both instances the country is told of mediation machinery, and the logic of the appeal is that the machinery is effective.

It is now history what happened to the Wagner board and what reception management and labor gave the truce. During the life of the board more than a million men were involved in 1,466 strikes; in addition there were many disputes not under the national or regional boards, such as those in the textile and coal industries and those dealt with by the Department of Labor and by State agencies. The national board was driven from the scene by difficulties before which it was helpless. Instead of peace-by-agreement came the strikes already mentioned; the crisis in the automobile industry, settled by the personal intervention of the President; the threat of the steel strike in June, again averted by the President by the creation of the new steel labor-relations board; and a wave of violence, as in Toledo and Minneapolis, which startled the world.

Now comes the second proposal of a truce. Again the President speaks of the mediation machinery, and again the inference must be that this machinery is strong and useful. Only now, after the experience of the Wagner board, the President must expect labor to understand that machinery has been devised which will work.

The newer mediation machinery differs from the old in that its independence from the NRA is complete. That is the one outstanding change. The National Labor Relations Board has the right to order and conduct an election of representatives to bargain collectively with employers, and can order the production of documents and the appearance of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

witnesses in carrying out its work. The Wagner board also could order and supervise an election. Other new boards, notably in steel, textiles, and automobiles, are likewise completely independent of the NRA. But the actual power of all the boards exceeds that of the Wagner board in only minor respects. The Wagner board failed, not because it stood close to the NRA, but because there was not enough determination in one part of the board and at the White House to make it effective. The change to new machinery will not make that machinery effective unless the weight of the Administration is behind it.

Early this month, sitting in Pittsburgh on the Duquesne case, Judge Walter P. Stacy, chairman of the steel labor board, made this statement: "If within the confines of the Constitution this board is a mere ghost flying around in thin air, the sooner we find it out the better." The Carnegie Steel Company was refusing to recognize the jurisdiction of the board. Counsel for the steel trust appeared only "informally" to present the defense of the company union in the Duquesne mills. To him Judge Stacy made another remark: "Power is seldom surrendered; it is always taken. It was so at the first battle of Duquesne. Maybe it will be so at the second battle of Duquesne."

These two quotations give a concise summary of the situation today. Mediation may be only a ghost floating about in the confines of the Constitution; and if power in industry is to be shared with employees, it will not be surrendered but must be taken in battle. The battle is not one of the strike alone, and if there is to be a truce, the Administration must continue the struggle for the acceptance of collective bargaining. It can do so by throwing all its weight behind its mediation machinery, by letting industry understand that collective bargaining is an essential part of the New Deal philosophy, by moving swiftly in support of the decisions of its labor boards, by asking Congress for further legislation if industry does not accept Section 7-a.

Labor has had an amazing year. It believed, to begin with, that the A. F. of L. was to have a weighty part in the NRA, and found instead that its role was to be purely advisory. The Labor Advisory Board got in its most successful blow when it refused to permit the amendment of Section 7-a after the writing of the automobile code. The President himself had whittled down collective bargaining by accepting the "merit clause" in this code, and within a few days the NRA offices were flooded with requests for permission to amend other codes in the same way. Leo Wolman of the Labor Advisory Board had agreed to the merit clause. In his absence the board met and announced publicly it would not approve any other code containing the merit clause or other amendment of Section 7-a. Johnson ordered the board never to take such independent action in public again. It was the last public announcement of the board.

The first defiance of the Wagner board had been in the Weirton Steel case. A strike in the Weirton plant had been settled on the pledge of the company to hold an election under the board's supervision. E. T. Weir, chairman of the company, signed the pledge, then repudiated it. The board sent the case to the Department of Justice, but nothing happened. Mediation had failed, and yet the Administration was not backing up its own machinery. Three times the President was asked at press conferences what was happening in the case. Twice he evaded the question; the third time he disclosed that he was holding conferences with Mr. Weir. Only when workers from the Weirton mills came to Washington, lost patience with official dalliance, and threatened to picket the White House, did they gain admission to the President. They told their story as General Johnson stood by.

"You didn't tell me that, Hugh," said the President.

"I think I did, Mr. President," muttered the General.

The President learned facts he had not known, and he, not the General, "cracked down" on the Weirton Company, issuing an executive order authorizing the Wagner board to hold an election in the Weirton mills.

For a little while it looked as though the Administration was backing up its mediation machinery. But what has happened? The Weirton case is getting ready to celebrate its first birthday languishing in the courts. The election has not been held. The steel industry, en masse, is fighting collective bargaining and preparing to contest the Administration's doctrine through the courts.

The Weirton case was one effort by steel workers to use mediation machinery to obtain collective bargaining. The Dusquesne case is the other. This contributed substantially to the overthrow of General Johnson. For it was in this case that General Johnson, in a now notorious broadcast, said, in effect, that he had worn off more skin in the saddle than it took to make half a dozen of his workingman critics. That remark nearly precipitated the strike; it lost General Johnson the final shreds of his reputation of fairness to labor. Here again the delegation of Duquesne workers on a rampage in Washington accomplished more than had old-guard labor leaders. Their experience was strange. They actually were importuned by a vice-chairman of the Wagner board to join the company union in Duquesne, capture it, and affiliate it with the A. F. of L. They were told this "for their own good," since otherwise the steel trust would fight the case through the courts. Well, the Duquesne election has not been held; even the court fight is still to begin. The Stacy board is wrestling with it, while the steel-trust attorney attends "informally."

The pretense of peace-by-agreement is dropped altogether today. The new Garrison board affirmed the right of majority rule in the Houde decision (pronounced hoo-dye). The company immediately declared it would take the ruling to the courts. Within twenty-four hours the National Association of Manufacturers had advised its members to disregard the Houde decision. Effective mediation, in other words, is at a standstill. The Wagner board did settle a large roster of disputes, in the days when the atmosphere of the truce had not thinned completely away. But the atmosphere is gone today. The Iron and Steel Institute, which is the Code Authority for steel, is fighting the very existence of the machinery; the National Association of Manufacturers tells its members to disregard the board's finding in the Houde case.

The Administration is not making its complete force felt. It does not announce that it intends to see collective bargaining accepted and will put all its strength behind its intention. It does not predict further legislation if the powers now vested in the government are insufficient. The Wagner bill, giving labor its charter, was not passed by the last Congress chiefly because the President did not desire to press it. Instead came Public Resolution 44, under which

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the National Industrial Relations Board was created. Labor does not know whether the President will back the Wagner bill in the next Congress; it does not know that the President is in earnest about Section 7-a; it knows only that his record is both uncompromising, as finally in the Weirton case, and compromising, as in the automobile-code settlement.

And now comes the call to a truce. On what basis? What has changed, which can make a truce more real today than in August, 1933? The mediation boards are not now part of the NRA, but are they realities or are they ghosts floating in thin air in the confines of the Constitution? Only one man can give the answer to these questions. The President knows what he had in mind when, after the past year's experience with the NRA, he asked labor to use this mediation machinery.

In theory the answer should be plain. The New Deal gave to industry the power, facility, and basis for organization on an unprecedented scale. It suspended the operation of the anti-trust laws, and it supplied business with a remarkable machine for organization in the codes and the NRA, in which business was supreme. But it also saw the necessity of balancing the strength of industry by fostering the growth of labor organization. Collective bargaining was written into the act as an organic part.

No doubt about it, labor is still weaker than industry, and the effective balance between them has not been reached. It can only be reached through the acceptance of Section 7-a, and this will not be accepted finally by industry until it knows that the Administration intends to have it accepted. The Administration is not fighting all industry; only the big interests are on the warpath. In the main, middle-sized manufacturers have accepted collective bargaining. But any victory of the big interests will be claimed by the rest.

If the call for a truce means that the Administration will fight the big interests and stand behind its mediation machinery, labor can understand it. If it means that labor is to pay court to a ghost, until in some future time the constitutionality of the New Deal is settled, there will be no truce. Labor leaders may accept it, but the rank and file will not.

[*Mr. Swing contributes a regular weekly letter from Washington.*]

The Revolution in Spain—Act Three

By ANITA BRENNER

THIS article is written at a moment when the Spanish revolution poises on the knife-edge between victory and defeat. In a week or two we shall know whether Spain too has followed the pattern that has already produced three world catastrophes—Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and the Austrian church-maneuvered reaction—or whether we are about to see the most hopeful historical event since the triumph of the U. S. S. R., a victorious workers' and peasants' revolution.

The third act of the three-year drama in Spain sounds coldly abstract when put in generalized political and social terms. But visualize some of the actors: A gaunt Andalusian rolling a huge butt of sherry into precise alignment with hundreds of other barrels, saying, "Wine, wine, wine! Some day—when the revolution comes—we dream of milk as plentiful as this wine." Twenty ragged children in a coal-burners' village in Estremadura, pointing to three lean black ciphers—the landlord, the priest, and the mayor—on the horizon and calling shrilly, "There go the Feudals," then diving into pen-like hovels chased by the Civil Guard. Ten gnarled farmers in a small Castilian town, staring at the figures which mean that all this year's wheat, barley, and olives must be shipped to the owner who lives in Madrid, plus several thousand pesetas, the deficit on the land rent.

Now look at the city workers. They are very much like our own homeless unemployed, but thinner, hungrier, with not even an alphabetical dole between them and despair. Consider the students, foreseeing their professional and personal lives snared in political corruption and religious prohibitions, and the middle-class and working-class women, fighting to feed an ever-growing family on an ever-shrinking handful of pesetas. Look, too, at the penniless returning emigrants, who only a short time ago were still able to send back to small budgets in Spain, from the Americas, as much as a million dollars a year. At the same time glance at that black-clad lady on her way to Madrid, telling her beads in her first-class compartment and emphasizing her prayers with remarks like these: "Azaña, the Socialists, those men are devils; the thing to do to them is cut off their heads, clean out all this communistic mania once and for all." And see her son, a wheat lord in his own right, manipulating the national tariff in order to keep the price of wheat higher than the world-market figures can justify. Look at his brother, too, sitting in the editorial office of *El Debate,* the Jesuit paper, listening to the small rustle of money growing in banks, railroads, electric-power companies, mines.

This is the background for the third act of the Spanish drama, which began two weeks ago, on the day when President Alcalá Zamora turned the Cabinet over to Lerroux, head of the "Radical" (conservative republican) Party, and Lerroux in turn dealt out the power to Gil Robles, the Jesuit "Populist" with fascist dreams, and Martinez de Velasco, head of the landlords' party, and their allies and aids. The social significance of the combination is this: industrial and financial capitalism, allied to the church, the landlords, and the militarists in an openly anti-labor front (as it was during the last elections) is going into deadly action. On their side, count at most 500,000 human beings, but count also the possession of the state power, its police, Civil Guards, secret service, army-and-navy equipment, and arms.

Against them, count at least 2,000,000 organized workers—no one knows exactly how well armed, and no one knows as yet how completely united. One immediately asks a question: How was it possible for the reactionary minority to get this power, by winning three-fourths of the Cortes seats in the last election a year ago, whereas almost half of the previous Cortes was Socialist, and another third or so

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

anti-clerical, anti-landlord republican? The answer is simple. Spain's electoral law is shrewdly contrived so that an organized minority can nearly always defeat unorganized majorities. In the last elections all the "anti-Marxist" forces, as they called themselves, ran on fusion tickets. On the other hand, the left-wing republican parties almost everywhere ran alone, and moreover one of the larger parties, the Radical Socialist, split in three parts just before the elections. Each of the workers' parties ran alone, too, except in a few isolated cases, while the Anarcho-Syndicalists, doctrinally unpolitical, refrained from voting—on the Communist-derived "social-fascist" theory that Socialists, republicans, and fascists are all parts of the same body, and in retaliation for brutal persecutions suffered throughout the republic, especially in Catalonia and Andalusia. Some of the Anarcho-Syndicalists even went so far as to vote for Lerroux because he was anti-Socialist, while others, in Catalonia, voted for the left-wing republican party, the Esquerra, thus giving that group control of the Catalan government and bringing about the only anti-fascist electoral victory of any consequence.

Those elections forecast and actually determined the death of the liberal-reformist, progressive republic headed by Azaña in combination with the "autonomist" Catalans and the Socialist Party. At that time few people doubted the result, but not many articulate voices made clear its significance. A conversation I had at the time with the chairman of a Socialist peasants' cooperative somewhere in Andalusia burned itself into my brain, for I heard what he said repeated over and over, nearly always by obscure, angry, struggling rank-and-filers in many occupations and in several parties. He said what every worker in Spain knew. He said: "We have seen what happened in Germany . . . and now we have the same fight here. I tell you if we don't unite, if we don't make some sort of united front at once, everywhere, we are lost. Nothing can save us now but fight, fight, fight. The revolution is here, it can't be postponed; if it is held back . . . they'll kill it."

So everywhere I went I looked for signs of rapprochement and union; surely the drive was there. I saw Largo Caballero. He was at that time engaged in a struggle with the right wing of the Socialist Party and the Socialist trade-union organization. White-faced, with a glint of tears in his icy blue eyes, he talked of the revolutionary general strike in 1917, in which many hundreds of Socialists lost their lives. The responsibility, the fear of losing again, the hope that reaction was only a nightmare, made his talk slow and wary, and at the same time the realization that reaction was no nightmare, but an imminent menace, exploded now and then in moving half-phrases. I carried away one, spoken at an emotional peak—and Caballero is not an emotional man. "I have all the faith in the world in the Spanish masses," he said; "they are glorious and formidable." But with that phrase I also carried away a doubt, a reflection of Cabellero's own conflict. Was he, as he was later called when he took a revolutionary position openly, a "Spanish Lenin"? Was he capable of bringing about united, clear, aggressive, triumphant action? I was not sure, for Largo Caballero had a reputation for "sectarian" political action, for attempting constantly to make the Spanish labor movement an exclusively Socialist monopoly, and for using government power to do it.

A day or two before that interview I had seen Gil Robles, who was at the time merely another deputy, beginning to organize from the editorial offices of *El Debate* the Acción Popular, obeying the powerful hidden hand of Angel Herrera, Jesuit spokesman in political and financial control of the party. What Herrera said was said off the record, but it was a clear enough fascist-Catholic program, in Spanish mold, yet startlingly like the blueprint later revealed for Austria and now taking shape in some Central European countries. What Gil Robles said was less interesting, since it was mostly an incomplete, oratorical echo of Herrera's previous private words. He had no doubt of eventual triumph, he said. As a matter of fact, the only thing he was afraid of was too much speed. Of course, Catalonia would be the big problem—since, to suppress the Socialists, the laws they themselves had voted for suppression of the Anarchists were splendidly adequate; so everything else would be taken care of first. Catalonia would be left to the last, and the idea there was to organize a Catalan Popular Action Party, elsewhere centralist or vaguely regionalist, according to political convenience. Lerroux, then for the first time Premier, was in spite of his old record as a "church-eater" and anarchist sympathizer, a "splendid bridge."

A clear enough plan, secret to no one, really. It was carried out as follows: First, municipal governments were removed from Socialist and Communist hands, with or without pretexts, since municipalities are the key to control of the national political machine. Later liberal Republicans were also ousted. Then the substitution of lay for religious education was paralyzed, and the land reform, which had proceeded at best with suicidal slowness, was quietly blocked. Next reactionary and royalist officers began to be moved back into their old places in the army, while at the same time all the militarists and landlords involved in the armed counter-revolution of August, 1932, were pardoned and given back, in many cases, their old positions and properties. These moves met with practically no resistance. Socialist councilmen and mayors simply departed, wiring protests to the *Socialista,* which published editorials pointing out what tremendous headway political-financial corruption was making in the Lerroux regime. The Republicans, meanwhile, made hopeless efforts to reunite under Azaña, and the Communists, numerically weak, denounced the Socialists.

Next the government, headed by a Lerroux party member but maneuvered wholly by Gil Robles, repealed a law, the *Ley de Jurisdicciones,* which had put control of land labor in Socialist hands, and had also protected all workers from ruinous competition from unorganized transients, especially Portuguese. At once wages dropped, hours lengthened, and all the ancient semi-feudal relationships were reestablished. This move was met by a national land strike, which however was not followed up by support from the cities. It flared up into bitter guerrilla war, at the end of which the country was everywhere actually, though not everywhere officially, under martial law. The labor press was suspended, Anarcho-Syndicalist, Communist, and many Socialist headquarters were closed, newspapermen began to be persecuted, students began to find themselves battling with armed gunmen who called themselves student fascists.

At this point the workers' firm determination to resist created new organisms. The Socialist Youth, some of its members Anarcho-Syndicalists and some Communists, drilled in militias. In Catalonia from 50,000 to 100,000 members

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of dissident Syndicalist and Communist blocks united with Socialists to form "Workers' Alliances," whose outstanding leaders were Andrés Nin, identified with the left-Communist (Trotzky) block, Joaquin Maurin (of the independent Catalan Communist Party), and Angel Pestaña, Syndicalist. The alliances sprang up almost spontaneously all over Spain, but did not cohere into nationally centralized organs because of indifference and opposition to the national leadership. The C. N. T., the big Anarcho-Syndicalist trade union, would unite "only for insurrection . . . we'll meet in the streets." Or else it wanted "union within the C. N. T."—and a "united front from below." The Communist Party likewise refused to join, calling at first for "united front from below," but later offering to join with Socialists only, in an "organizational" united front. As for the Socialist Party, officially it indorsed the Workers' Alliances, but its right wing managed to keep them inactive on most issues, while the left wanted them used "for insurrection only, not for partial gains." Thus the sane, creative vision of thousands of workers was met by barrier after barrier of doctrinal prejudice, convenience, and sheer stupidity, or sent off on tangents and partially blocked.

To offset its retreat on immediate issues, the Socialist Party meanwhile shouted every day, at the top of its voice, that it was preparing for revolution and to institute proletarian dictatorship by violence if the President dared give official power to Gil Robles and his colleagues. And it was. Arms and ammunition were being brought in, cached, distributed; military plans were being made. This fact gave hope to the great majority of workers, though many had a kind of uneasy impression that the Socialist Party intended to monopolize the leadership and the subsequent power, and that feeling aroused enough suspicion to hold the Anarcho-Syndicalists back from the insurrection until it was already at its height.

One more conflict determined the first major event of the revolution. In Catalonia the Esquerra, controlling the regional government, was struggling against the Workers' Alliances for control of peasants and workers. Sometimes it yielded—as in the land law that precipitated the final quarrel between Catalonia and Madrid—and sometimes it struck at the workers' organizations by repression and persecution. The Catalan secession, proclaimed at a moment when the general strike had spread everywhere and the government seemed weakest, was not part of the class revolution at all, but in reality the last effort of the "authentic" Republicans to hold back the masses from revolt, and at the same time to hold back the reaction and grasp power for a return to the 1931-33 Azaña regime. Here the leaders of the Spanish revolution met much the same dilemma as the Russians, when Kornilov moved against Kerensky, who at that moment had Trotzky in jail and Lenin in exile, but they did not meet it in the same way. The Russians threw all their strength behind Kerensky, and then undermined him later. The Spaniards, instead, withdrew, leaving the Catalans and the Republicans—a handful of men—to surrender after one hopeless battle. This was not their battle, the Spanish workers felt, especially the Anarcho-Syndicalists, dominant in Catalonia. In a sense they were right. Just the same the surrender of Barcelona was the first decisive victory for the reaction, and if the revolution is lost, this was how and where it received its death blow.

In the Driftway

THE men's clothing manufacturers have found a word for it. "Go-withoutism" is the disease that is ravaging the country—it has reduced the men's wear business from five billion dollars in 1909 to a quarter of that sum—and the clothing industry is ready to spend a million dollars to "stop the trend toward nakedness." Plans for the campaign were made at a recent conference in New York in which many prominent figures took part. "Go-withoutism" was attacked on both moral and business grounds. Mr. J. M. Kraus, advertising manager of an important uplift organization in Chicago which manufactures suspenders and garters, described nudism as "the challenge barbarism has hurled at civilization," and cited, with a fine disregard of sequences, the example of the Fall of Man in the Garden of Eden. William Goldman, obviously representing the left-wing group, indicated his belief that "go-withoutism" was an apple from quite another tree when he said that its origin was economic. But both agreed that direct methods of combating nakedness were unwise. Direct relief was barred in favor of made work, sometimes known as publicity.

* * * * *

SINCE the conference took place under the auspices of the Code Authority of the Hat Manufacturing Industry (NRA) it was natural that hatlessness should be its major concern. Mr. Warren Smith, secretary of the Hat Institute, gave the keynote address, in the course of which he analyzed the serious problem confronting the hat administration. He cited among others the following significant "research conclusions" based on long observation:

> Although hatlessness varies widely, it probably averages at least as high as 35 per cent in New York in the summer.
>
> Hatlessness in summer does not vary much with temperature and humidity, but *declines slightly on cool, rainy mornings.*
>
> Hatlessness is more common among manual workers than among the white-collared classes.
>
> Hatlessness is more prevalent among foreign classes than among native-born.
>
> Hatlessness is much more prevalent among men who are otherwise poorly dressed than among well-groomed men.
>
> Hatlessness is more common among lower-income classes than among higher.

Mr. Smith's suggestions for "stemming the hatless tide" specifically ruled out direct methods. The press, he intimated, would be unsympathetic. "We have found," he said, "that the newspapers will go out of their way to attack the hat industry even when we are not doing one thing about hatlessness." He then outlined his own position in favor of subtlety. "I believe," he said, "that the desire to wear a hat must come from within. I notice that Paris garters are advertised as being more comfortable to wear than to go garterless. In other words, I believe the hatless boy can be shown he would be more comfortable with a hat of the new ventilated kind." Mr. Smith is right. What this country needs is a well-ventilated hat.

THE DRIFTER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

"EPIC and the Ohio Plan"

To the Editors of The Nation:

Mr. Swing's Washington letter of September 24 on EPIC and the Ohio Plan overlooks the real solution to the problem he posits. To cite but two instances, he says that if Sinclair's EPIC plan saved the taxpayers $60,000,000 a year in taxes which now go to pay relief bills, "private business would be deprived of $60,000,000 of expenditures, unless taxpayers spent the money otherwise, which they would not do." How does Mr. Swing know what the taxpayers would do with the money that they would save by paying lower sales taxes, gasoline taxes, and so forth? He apparently asumes that the taxpayers would swallow it or cover it with a shovel, since he goes on to say: "This sum [$60,000,000] would be the loss to private business, and workers in private business would have to be paid off." Since when is a decrease in taxes a staggering blow to private business?

One other point. He contends that a nation-wide use of the Ohio Plan, for example, "would lead to a nation-wide dislocation of business, even if it did not reduce its total." A little reflection would indicate that theoretically at least such a plan need cause little or no dislocation or displacement, and that under a nation-wide scheme it is easier to solve the problem of displacement or dislocation, since with a wider territory a better-balanced program is possible. The way for relief authorities to increase the total amount of employment—and consumption—in the country without assisting some at the expense of others is to avoid emphasizing certain lines of production and service out of proportion to their importance in the existing public and private economy. If this rule is closely adhered to, there is no need to worry about dislocation, though I admit that it involves a nice administrative problem.

Princeton, N. J., September 29 Richard A. Lester

The Cost of Housing Loans

To the Editors of The Nation:

It is not correct, as stated in the article by Albert Mayer in *The Nation* for October 10, that the interest on modernization loans is 9½ per cent. The maximum charge is limited to the basis of $5 per $100 on a one-year-note, payable in monthly instalments; so that a property-owner borrowing for a longer term than twelve months would pay a charge on a basis not higher than the maximum discount rates permitted, reduced for a longer term of months in accordance with the table inclosed.

You can be assured that the Modernization Credit Plan, under which property-owners have an opportunity to approach any approved financial institution for credit, is the lowest-cost time-financing plan ever made available in the United States—or, as far as our records show, in the world. The cost to the property-owner for each $100 cannot possibly exceed a charge of $5 on a yearly basis. And the Federal Housing Administration tables are so arranged that for the longer periods this maximum is reduced, so that a borrower for two or three years, let us say, gets exactly the same low rate as the one-year borrower.

Two other factors show that the Modernization Credit Plan is even more favorable than the comparison of rates proves it to be. The first is that the borrower does not have to have an account, which means that funds ordinarily required as a

The first book frankly facing relationships not even supposed to exist:

The SEX LIFE of the UNMARRIED ADULT

EDITED BY IRA S. WILE, M.D.

The contributors include Margaret Mead, Robert L Dickinson, Ernest R. Groves, Mary Beard, Robert Mors Lovett, Lorinne Pruette, N. W. Ingalls, Ernest W. Burgess, Morris L. Ernst, and Horace M. Kallen.

Physicians and psychologists have given specific information and help to married persons with "legalized" sex lives. But this is the first authoritative, popularly written counsel to answer the problems of a group compelled to delay the legal solution of their difficulties.

It answers, frankly and courageously, such questions as:

What percentage of men and women have sex experience before marriage?
On purely physiological grounds, is there any reason why temperate sex intercourse should be denied to the unmarried?
What is the average normal periodicity of sex functioning in adults?
What are the dangers to an unmarried couple in arousing, but not fulfilling, physical desire?
What problems face young couples who delay marriage for economic reasons?
Is the proportion of illegitimate births increasing despite wider-spread knowledge of contraception?
Is homosexuality common among unmarried women?
Is a marriage in which there has been pre-marital sexual intercourse more likely or is it less likely to go to smash?
When does normal "sex play" impinge upon the abnormal?
What percentage of unmarried persons indulge in auto-erotic practices?
Can fundamental urges be repressed without a deleterious effect on one's personality?
Etc., etc.

✓ *"A much needed, candid, and sane discussion of one of the most important social and moral problems of the day. The book should create a real stir."* —HARRY ELMER BARNES

Please mail this to your bookseller or to:

THE VANGUARD PRESS
100 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C.

Gentlemen—Enclosed please find $..... for.....copies at $2.65 each ($2.50 for each book plus 15 cents for postage and handling) of THE SEX LIFE OF THE UNMARRIED ADULT. ☐ Please send C.O.D.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....STATE.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

★ This GENUINE IMPORTED RUSSIAN VODKA is a smooth, pure wheat drink. You'll find it warming and invigorating either "straight" or in delicious "different" mixed drinks.

THERE IS ONLY ONE GENUINE IMPORTED RUSSIAN VODKA TRY IT!

★ Be SURE you get the only GENUINE IMPORTED RUSSIAN VODKA — label marked: "Made in Soviet Union (U. S. S. R.)". Leaflet "A" with Famous Bartenders' Recipes sent on request.

● Imported by Amtorg Trading Corp., 261 Fifth Ave., New York

McBride

A New Book, Ladies and Gentlemen,

By BRANCH CABELL

In a volume of sparkling satire Mr. Cabell pricks the balloons of the mighty by opening up for reconsideration reputations which have become household words. Here are Solomon, Ananias, Mme. De Pompadour, George Washington, Pocahontas, Poe and many others. *Admirable fooling. . . . a good show."—N. Y. Times.* - - - - - $2.50

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

A PARCEL OF RECONSIDERATION

Amazing Picture of Russia

America's premier news photographer ranges all over Russia snapping forbidden pictures that had to be smuggled, by stratagem, across the border. Read this exciting story, meet Soviet officials, see the superb pictures in this notable book. $3.00

A Recommendation of the Book-of-the-Month Club.

I PHOTOGRAPH RUSSIA

By JAMES E. ABBE

80 oversize pictures superbly printed in rotogravure.

ROBERT M. McBRIDE & COMPANY. 4 West 16th St., New York

balance are not required. The second point is that the necessity for checking up monthly payments, on the part of the bank, is very important and involves considerable expense. You can readily see that a bank would much prefer to have a loan amply secured, to be paid off in one sum at a given date, than to have to check up carefully on a number of payments from twelve to sixty, depending on the number of months, to be sure the loan was in good standing.

Washington, October 2 ROGER STEFFAN,
Director of Modernization Credits
Federal Housing Administration

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

I am puzzled by Mr. Steffan's letter, for I nowhere stated in my article that the "interest on modernization loans is 9½ per cent." I simply stated that the cost of the modernization loans was high, whether the charge appeared as interest or as discount. But since he raises the point, the fact is that the cost of a one-year loan is 9.7166 per cent, this figure being taken from the Federal Housing Administration's own "Tables of Calculation." The reason the cost is 9.7 per cent while technically the interest rate is 5 per cent is that the discount is taken as soon as the loan is made, on the full amount of the loan, but as the borrower is required to pay back monthly instalments, the actual amount loaned decreases each month, while he keeps paying 5 per cent on the total original loan for the full period.

New York, October 4 ALBERT MAYER

Protest in Boston

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

Nine young men and women, arrested in two militant protests against the presence in Boston of Hitler's agent and "good-will" emissary, Ernst Hanfstängel, will be tried very shortly before the Criminal Sessions of the Cambridge Superior Court.

Both demonstrations occurred on the same day, the occasion being the alumni exercises of the Harvard class of 1909, Hanfstängel's class, whose reunion he was scheduled to attend. The first protest came when two young girls who had chained themselves to the stands cried, "We protest against the presence . . . of the Nazi Hanfstängel! Free Thälmann!" at the moment when President Conant declared that whatever the form of government ruling the United States Harvard would stand for free speech. Fifteen minutes later the two protestants were led away by the police.

The second demonstration took place a short while later in Harvard Square, where a number of speakers from the Marine Workers' Industrial Union, the American League against War and Fascism, and the National Student League addressed a meeting which lasted forty minutes before the police broke it up. Seven demonstrators and speakers were arrested on charges of disturbing the peace and speaking without a permit, for which they were sentenced in the lower court to a fine of $5 and thirty days in the house of correction, each. The two girls were given $50 fines.

The defense is seriously hampered by lack of funds: contributions should be sent to Charles McBride, care of the International Labor Defense, 12 Hayward Place, Boston.

Boston, October 1 CHARLES MCBRIDE

[Through a proofreader's error a letter in *The Nation* of October 10, entitled Bankers and Money Changers, appeared over the signature of Mary E. Linesey. The name should have read Mary E. Livesey.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Labor and Industry

The A. F. of L. Faces a Fact

By TRAVERS CLEMENT

San Francisco, October 13

LIKE the Roman Catholic church in its relation to birth control, the Old Guard of the American Federation of Labor has yielded a few inches to the inevitable without as yet sacrificing an iota of its power and control. As in the case of the church, the necessity for change arose not so much from the conscious revolt of its constituents as from the pressure of objective events. These events had so strengthened the arguments of its opponents and the position of the rival chieftains within its ranks that the demands of the latter could no longer be ignored. The result was a series of careful compromises and the reception of the rivals into the fold.

From the point of view of progressives, liberals, and radicals of every shade both in and out of the labor movement, the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor since 1915 have probably presented the most discouraging spectacle in our yearly calendar of events. Here, it would seem, is the last place where any awareness of the significance of world-wide changes, of labor's position and function in those changes, in short, of "what it is all about," reflects itself. The fifty-fourth annual convention, held in one of the stormiest years in its history and in a city that had recently witnessed a prolonged and highly significant strike, was only a little less discouraging than usual—not so much because of the widely heralded "victories" of John L. Lewis, supported by radicals and progressives, in his battle for industrial unionism and for enlargement of the Executive Council as because of a certain new aggressiveness of spirit evidenced among the delegates by the volume of applause accorded the more militant speakers and the general tone of the many resolutions introduced from non-radical sources—even though these resolutions were all defeated.

As usual the convention machinery was well oiled and only once did a recommendation of the various hand-picked committees on resolutions come near to being upset by action of the delegates. This was early in the session when a committee recommended non-concurrence on a resolution introduced by A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which called for the expulsion from the A. F. of L. of any national or international union which drew the color line. In spite of its drastic wording Randolph's restrained eloquence in its favor carried the delegates with him on an oral vote. It was only by ignoring this vote and throwing the question open once more to constitutional objections from the Old Guard leaders that Green succeeded in having the committee's recommendation upheld. Thereafter the steam roller functioned practically without a hitch. The stormy row in the building trades, involving nothing more important than a fight between two sets of reactionary leaders for control of the department and especially for craft advantage in the shaping of the new building-trades codes in Washington, erupted on the floor of the convention, but the decision of the federation executive was upheld. Though it consumed more precious time than any other issue before the convention, no principle was at stake. The defiance by the brewery workers of last year's convention decision that they give the brewery wagon drivers over to the Teamsters' Union raised the industrial-union issue indirectly, but here decision was avoided by reference back to the Executive Council. This is a scrap which is watched with deep interest by the new federal unions. If a forty-year-old industrial union can be successfully "raided" by one of the powerful craft unions as soon as it gains any strength, what hope is there for the future security of the federals? The question is still open. It was during the course of this controversy that Daniel J. Tobin of the teamsters, one of the highest-paid officials in the trade-union movement, made his now-famous remark about "the rubbish" which had come into the labor movement during the past year and was booed from every section of the hall.

As usual, in spite of the overwhelming importance of the two major conflicts scheduled for this year's convention, it was obvious in advance that the battles would be fought behind the closed doors of committee rooms, and there was little doubt as to what the results would be. When John L. Lewis made his belated and characteristically dramatic entry into the convention, the Green-Woll cohorts knew that he had come to bargain and that he was in a position to do so. They were likewise prepared to make concessions. Lewis had behind him on both issues the vastly increased voting strength of the United Miners, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the United Textile Workers, and a number of smaller organizations, such as the Brewery Workers, which have made such rapid strides in the past year—as well as the support of the new federal unions and of the scattered progressives and militants. In the matter of enlarging the council, Tobin had "seen the light" since last year. In the matter of industrial unionism, the council was ready to concede its propriety—under careful Executive Council supervision—in the "mass production" industries and among what Matt Woll termed "the now unorganized and *perhaps unorganizable* workers."

Despite the unanimity of the Resolutions Committee's carefully guarded recommendation on this last subject, it was obvious that many of the powerful craft leaders in the convention were still unreconciled, that they harbored jurisdictional qualms. Question after question arose over the interpretation of the resolution. Assurance after assurance was given from the platform that no craft organization was to be molested in its jurisdiction or in its "expansion and development." It was after Matt Woll had almost succeeded in robbing the resolution of any meaning whatever that Lewis arose and objected that "the resolution means exactly what it says," adding, "I will have more confidence of its successful operation if the Executive Council is enlarged."

The Executive Council was enlarged, and thereby hangs the tale of the labor movement during the coming year. When the resolution to increase its membership reached the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

floor, the compromise had been agreed upon, all the bargains had been made. (Francis J. Gorman alone battled with the committee to the end for the original Lewis proposal for a membership of twenty-five.) The overwhelming vote by which the recommendation for a council of fifteen—the three executive officers raise the total to eighteen—was carried was sufficient indication of what was to come. The "big shots" delivered their blocks of votes in return for a place on the council. One by one on the following afternoon all the incumbents were duly nominated—Lewis leading off for Green—and elected by acclamation. One by one, without a hitch, the additions were made—Tobin of the teamsters, Berry of the printing pressmen, Bates of the bricklayers, Hutcheson of the carpenters (still a Hoover enthusiast), Gainor of the letter carriers, Lewis of the miners, Dubinsky of the ladies' garment workers. Only the last two have been active advocates of the newly projected industrial set-up.

It is little wonder then that the newly organized or fast developing federal and industrial unions, whether radical, conservative, or nondescript in their leadership, feel none too assured about their futures. That they will be encouraged and even assisted at the moment, that an intensive drive will be made in the next year or two to "organize the unorganized" in certain key industries, they do not doubt. But they also harbor a grave suspicion that in this drive they may be used only as recruiting agencies for the big craft unions, that once they are organized, the greed for increased per capita tax and extended jurisdiction will subject them to the same type of raid that is now being attempted upon the brewery workers. The present composition of the Executive Council does nothing to reassure them. That their fears have some justification and must be allayed if the new industrial program is to be anything more than a gesture was recognized on the convention platform by a man who is probably the most intelligent and honest of the "regular" A. F. of L. leaders—Charles P. Howard, president of the Typographical Union. Speaking in behalf of the industrial resolution, he warned the convention that the new unions must be dealt with honestly, that they must be assured in advance that they are not in the future to be sacrificed to the ambitions of craft-union officials. Unquestionably, to the more aggressive Dubinsky faction the compromise of this year on the Executive Council is merely a first step in a move to force a change in the complexion of that body. The next convention, it is generally admitted, will witness a concerted drive upon certain pieces of "dead timber" in the council. Probably never again will that body be elected with such unanimity. Unfortunately, the coming year is likely to be a crucial one in many respects.

Neither the so-called "industrial union" issue nor the Executive Council issue furnished any test of progressive, militant, or left-wing strength in the recent convention. The resolution which would have come the nearest to doing so was the "labor party" proposal introduced by the delegates militant, or left-wing strength in the convention. The handling of this resolution—and a similar one introduced by Paul Porter of the federal Radio Factory Workers' Union—probably struck an all-time low in official "dirty dealing," and unloosed one of the most amazing flights of anti-red oratory in the history of any convention. In making its report of non-concurrence on the two resolutions, the committee sandwiched in between them a wholly irrelevant one, protesting against discrimination against unionists on the basis of political affiliation, submitted by the "rank and file" delegation and therefore tarred with the Communist brush. Only one labor-party advocate, Delegate Ernst of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, got the floor, and his attempts to have the two issues separated were unavailing. The Chair immediately recognized that elderly war horse and prize red-baiter of the Musicians' Union, Chauncey Weaver of Iowa, and for the next thirty minutes the convention was treated to a spectacle that would have been obscene if it had not been funny. The champagne and vodka that flowed at the Russian ambassadorial reception in Washington, the crucifixion of Christ, the recognition of Russia, Valley Forge, Union Square, our wives and mothers, Flanders fields, and a Communist-led hosiery strike in Davenport, Iowa, were woven together with a stream of invective and delivered in the best manner of the '70's. Debate was shut off, the question was put, the recommendation on the three resolutions was upheld. Proponents of the labor-party measure claim that had the resolution been submitted on its merits it would have received around 7,000 votes.

Even shorter shrift was given the number of resolutions introduced by the "rank and file" delegation—relating to the Lundeen unemployment-insurance bill, Green's attitude toward the San Francisco general strike, a report on the trade-union movement in Soviet Russia, and a dozen more. As soon as the committee's report of non-concurrence was read, shouts of "Question" rose from all sections of the hall. The question was put to a vote. On the Mooney-Billings case, the convention merely reaffirmed its previous stand.

To anyone who can remember the period between 1910 and 1915—when each year the Socialist and left-wing bloc presented a solid, aggressive, and often effective opposition under eloquent leadership to the A. F. of L. administration—the weakness and lack of cohesion of the left-wing forces, as opposed to such mere opportunists as Lewis, at this time must be not the least discouraging aspects of present-day A. F. of L. conventions. There is excellent material undoubtedly in the new federal unions, but as yet it lacks experience, force, and direction. Its officials are no match for such slick and ruthless chieftains as Tobin, Duffy, Hutcheson, and Woll. In this year's convention, thanks to the efforts of Paul Porter, twenty-six of the federal delegates formed a bloc and voted as a unit on the progressive side. The bloc controlled about 225 votes and will probably grow in strength and aggressiveness before the next convention.

The "rank and file" group, several of whom were "federals," was composed of not more than half a dozen delegates. It duly presented a large flock of resolutions, most of which were not even commented upon. Having a definitely prepared program, the group failed to caucus with the other left-wing forces and in general played a lone hand.

Unquestionably the addition of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers will strengthen a "progressive" bloc which includes such groups as the Teachers' Union, the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, the United Textile Workers, the Brewery Workers, the Sleeping Car Porters, the United Hatters, the Mill, Mine, and Smelter Workers, and most of the federals. It is a group which badly needs aggressive leadership, but I doubt if John L. Lewis will do.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books, Music, Drama, Films

The Age of Scarcity

America's Capacity to Consume. By Maurice Leven, Harold G. Moulton, and Clark Warburton. The Brookings Institution. $3.

OF the many economic fallacies which have been bandied about since the onset of the depression, none has caught popular fancy more firmly than the technocrats' assertion that having solved the "problem of production" we must concern ourselves primarily with that of distribution. The existence of bulging granaries in a world of starving people, together with the obvious possibilities for greatly increased production, has led millions of uncritical persons to conclude that we have entered a new era in history—the age of plenty—in which the old economic laws are no longer applicable.

In the past this assertion has been the more dangerous because no body of facts was in existence which could be conveniently marshaled in refutation. We possessed a multitude of statistics regarding the fluctuation of stock prices, the volume of bank clearing, foreign trade, and the assets and liabilities of our leading corporations, but nothing concrete had ever been compiled with respect to the productive possibilities of our national economy or the consumptive requirements of the American people.

Considerable significance must therefore be attached to the present volume, the second of a series of four to be published by the Brookings Institution upon the basis of an exhaustive investigation of these questions. Tentative though the results must necessarily be, they stand in complete contradiction to the technocratic thesis. The investigation discloses, for example, that approximately three-fourths of the families outside strictly rural districts did not have sufficient income in 1929 "to provide an adequate diet at moderate cost"; and that nine-tenths of the non-rural population were "not in a position to enjoy a liberal diet." To furnish adequate nutrition, a substantial margin of safety with regard to vitamins and minerals, and to purchase the necessities which are normally associated with such a diet would require, it is estimated, an increase in the production of all kinds of consumers' goods and services by something like 70 or 80 per cent above the 1929 level. Even if no family with an income of more than $5,000 a year were to obtain more than it now has, the production of food in the United States would have to be increased by approximately 40 per cent, the value of shelter and home maintenance available for American families would have to be very nearly doubled, while the output of clothing and other consumers' goods would have to be more than doubled.

Such an increase, of course, would be far beyond the present capacity of our economic system. In the earlier volume, "America's Capacity to Produce," it was concluded that in 1929 the United States might have produced, with existing resources, plant, and labor supply, at the most 20 per cent more than it actually did produce. While this figure would appear to be over-conservative, the fact remains that the unfulfilled wants of the American people are probably several times the potential production of 1929. Under the circumstances it is ridiculous to assert—as many have asserted—that the depression was due to extravagance during the "new era" period from 1922 to 1929. On the contrary, all the evidence indicates that we were producing more than we consumed, but that at no time did production even approach the possibilities of consumption that would have existed had there been a more adequate distribution of purchasing power.

As might be expected, the statistics presented in this volume constitute an overwhelming refutation of those, like Nicholas Murray Butler, who insist that there is no serious maldistribution of income, or who impugn the thrift of the poor. It reveals, for instance, that the 219,000 families having an income of over $20,000 in 1929—comprising less than 1 per cent of the population but including Dr. Butler—consumed in the aggregate as much as the 5,800,000 families in the $1,000 to $1,500 income class, and yet that the former group was able to set aside from their income an amount equal to more than half the entire savings of the country. Similarly, the consumptive outlay of 10 per cent of the population at the top of the income scale was approximately one-third of the total, while that of the lowest 10 per cent was only 4 per cent. Yet the upper group saved over four times as much as the remaining 90 per cent of the population. To make matters worse, there has been, according to the authors, a tendency for the inequality in the distribution of income to be accentuated in recent years.

Startling as these figures are, there can be little doubt of their accuracy. Such errors as exist would seem to lie on the side of understatement. Unfortunately, however, no attempt is made at the present stage of the investigation to indicate in any detail the significance of these findings with regard to the general problem of recovery, though certain tentative suggestions are made which, if followed, would at least obviate further blunders of the type we have seen in recent months. It is pointed out, for example, that an additional reduction in the working week must necessarily lead to a lowering of productive capacity and of living standards. The ultimate test of national welfare is to be found in the magnitude of production which is available for the satisfaction of human wants. This does not mean that our distributive system is not sadly out of gear. That is self-evident. But it does indicate that recovery is not to be obtained through limitation of production, the juggling of the value of money, the increasing of wages, the limitation of speculation, or any of the other devices of the New Deal. True prosperity, as distinct from the 1929 variety, would appear to depend on honest toil, the expansion of production, and an equitable distribution of the fruits of our common endeavor.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

Frieda Lawrence's Memoirs

Not I, but the Wind. By Frieda Lawrence. The Viking Press. $2.

A Modern Lover. By D. H. Lawrence. The Viking Press. $2.

IN April, 1912, a little-known young man who had recently given up school-teaching to write paid a visit to the English husband of a German aristocrat—and spent a fatal half hour before lunch talking with the latter. His first remarks, characteristically, were in fierce denunciation of women. Six weeks later the wife and the young man had gone away together, and thereupon began one of the most extraordinary relationships of modern times. The fierce young man had met his mate. The battle and love between them were to continue—a classic of modern marriage in life and literature—over three or four continents and eighteen years and until the death of one of the protagonists.

This memoir of the survivor, her first public expression, bears out what any acute follower of the story has felt all along: that Frieda Lawrence held up her side of the struggle with a valiance and a fairness which make her a significant figure in her own right. No latent grudge remains, no recriminations. "We fought our battles to the bitter end. Then there was peace. . . . I preferred it that way. Battles must

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be. If he had sulked, or borne me a grudge, how tedious!" "Not I, but the Wind" is the record of a worthy opponent, straightforward, open-hearted, fair.

The record is scrupulous in the matter of personal confidence. Of Katherine Mansfield, "She told me many things from her life, but she told me them in confidence and trust." This fairness extends to other members of the Lawrence circle, some of whom have hardly shown the same grace toward Mrs. Lawrence. Her own integrity and plain knowledge of security in Lawrence's deepest attachment make subterfuge unnecessary. Perfectly straightforward, for instance, is the challenge to the adoring Brett: "I said to her: 'Brett, I'll give you half a crown if you contradict Lawrence,' but she never did." Candid, too, is the admission of the fight between Mabel Luhan and herself, which "went on, off, and on." But: "I think it was a fair fight." Nor does Mrs. Lawrence reply to the personal attacks of Middleton Murry in "Son of Woman"; rather her memoir, in its simple authority, is itself a refutation of the charges that she was not the woman for Lawrence or Lawrence the man for her.

If further refutation were necessary, the first group of some eighty letters of Lawrence included in the volume—the letters written to herself in the early part of their relationship—should provide further evidence. The whole tone of these letters denies the myth that the Lawrences were not a consummately married couple. The other cycles of letters were written partly to Else, Frieda's sister, chiefly to Baroness von Richthofen, Lawrence's doughty mother-in-law, with whom his relation seems to have been one of mutual admiration. Some of the best letters are to her—letters like the extraordinary one which describes Mount Sinai and the Arabian coast as seen from the Red Sea. Here, once more, is the brilliant descriptive writer, Lawrence at his magical best.

While Mrs. Lawrence's own record is sketchy and far from complete, parts of it are very moving. Some of the early scenes succeed in presenting the personal vividness of Lawrence, and the last chapter has over it a sunset glow of the pathos of his last days. The chief quality of the book, however, lies in its personal integrity. One feels that the heart of the relationship is there, and one's respect grows for the valiance of the woman who was able to carry through a life on the difficult terms set by Lawrence's genius.

The posthumous gathering of short stories and one fragment of a novel which has been issued simultaneously with Mrs. Lawrence's memoir will not change Lawrence's status greatly. The stories seem to be scraps or variations of earlier themes. "A Modern Lover," for instance, seems to be a footnote to the Paul Morel-Miriam relationship of "Sons and Lovers," wherein a Lawrence-like young man returns to his provincial sweetheart, and after a peculiarly supercilious, egotistical, and insincere attack on her virtue, goes away again without understanding her refusal.

The fragment of a novel called "Mr. Noon," however, makes one regret that the Lawrence of before the war did not have a chance to enlarge a remarkable realistic talent for portraying the life of his own Midland-colliery region. The fragment is amazingly good. It is the story less of Mr. Noon than of Emmy, and of her amorous adventures which precipitate her into respectable marriage. Emmy is "a sport, a bit of fluff, hot-stuff," withal a pretty typical representative of lower-class flapperdom. All the characters are astonishingly alive: Emmy; the erotically talented dog of a Mr. Noon; Wire-whiskers, the father; the true love, Walter George; Harold, the manly brother-in-law. Incorporated is a brilliant scene, veritably a treatise with running illustration, on spooning. The whole fragment, indeed, is a sort of mock-heroic comedy of love in the Midlands, which, by the time Lawrence's gay pen has finished with it, leaves the rose-wreathed version of the story-books thoroughly perforated. And at bottom, I suspect, the triumphant realism goes not only for the Emmies and Mr. Noons and Walter Georges of Lawrence's hinterland, but for young humanity on the prowl almost anywhere in the world.

FERNER NUHN

Pirandello's Short Stories

The Naked Truth and Eleven Other Stories. By Luigi Pirandello. Translated by Arthur and Henrie Mayne. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.

THIS volume, which the publishers have issued with the usual attractive dress, is the twelfth in the Dutton Pirandello series. With five volumes of plays, five full-length novels, and two volumes of short stories available in American editions, Pirandello must be called one of the most adequately presented of the living Continental writers, for his whole literary evolution, which on the side of form has been most interesting, can now be followed in English. In that evolution the short stories represent an early embryonic stage, when Pirandello had not attained the self-confidence of success and was therefore to a certain large extent responsive to the modes and fashions of the day (the late '90's and the first decade of the century); when, furthermore, his thought had not as yet been clarified by the neo-idealistic experience of the present generation; and when, finally, he had not as yet perceived all the dramatic possibilities of his ironical vision of life. What we have in the Pirandello short story is a point, a situation, a thought (the fact that he has some five hundred of those points, situations, thoughts, stamps him as a writer of really creative imagination). One has to think also of the market for which he wrote, primarily the newspaper, for which he had to fill a column, two columns, by some rare chance a page. Maupassant had already created the model for this type of story. Its essential requisite was clarity and rapidity. Almost always the gist of it can be stated in a sentence. To give the point body, in other words to fill out the column, there was the formula of the naturalists, realism shaded toward the darker sides of life, with a peculiarly Italian twist—the pathos of the humble peasant life of the different Italian regions when viewed from above by a self-satisfied bourgeois.

Working with those data, Grazia Deledda, for instance, was able to win the Nobel prize, while Pirandello did not. One can see why. That formula fitted Deledda like a glove. It never quite fitted Pirandello. He never felt beyond the point of contrast in his situation; he was always ironically intellectual. His characters are always grotesques, his landscapes are dull, his Sicilian "manners and customs" are never as interesting as those of a mere scholar and folklorist like Pitré. And in those very limitations, too, we get the force of Pirandello's genius, when we see that in the end he broke through those traditional formulas to rise to a new and original art in the later plays, while Deledda, to return to the same comparison, has gone on for half a century repeating herself.

Selected more or less at random from Pirandello's very extensive fund of fiction, the stories in this column come both from the best and from among the poorer. The Annuity, Naked Truth, The Wayside Shrine, The Fly are perfect gems; The Annuity is in itself enough to carry the volume. Va Bene, on the other hand, was hardly worth translating, and so for The Spirit of Service, a flat antique from the rankest old-fashioned sentimentalism. I never could see anything in The Red Booklet, though I realize that M. Crémieux chose that story to make the first introduction of Pirandello to France. But take him at his best or at his worst, Pirandello is always refreshing as something a little different. And this volume

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would have its place in any library of good taste, when the hopeful things of life begin to cloy, or for a flash of Pirandello's cynical but gratifying laughter in moments when one sees no hope at all.

ARTHUR LIVINGSTON

Mr. Nock's Country

A Journey into Rabelais's Country. By Albert Jay Nock. William Morrow and Company. $3.50.

ALBERT JAY NOCK'S journey into Rabelais's country has the temper of Ruskin in Florence and the deliberately overemphasized naivete of "Innocents Abroad"—American vintage of 1869. It is a most curious book. Mr. Nock admires Rabelais and knows him thoroughly, yet by the evidence here he has by no means entered into or even momentarily taken on his idol's attitude. It would seem that no one could ever read Rabelais without achieving a new point of view on the earth life which we call human, a point of view more detached, more impersonal, from which ill-humor has fled and personal prejudice is, for the sake of the great show itself, automatically eliminated. This journey is by no means Mr. Nock's first trip abroad; yet it bears all the earmarks of old surprises, old shocks—at French water, French soap, French trains, French stenches, French fleas, French palms extended, French overcharges. These things are matters of fact, like showers, fog, and sleet, and are to be accepted in a more or less adult fashion, without irritation. Mr. Nock's humor is consistently irritated, even when he is most humorous. It is far from the spirit of Rabelais.

The difficulty is that Mr. Nock has written here, not as a tremendously curious, magnificently detached spectator of the particular section of the human panorama in which Rabelais was created and from which he created his figures, but solely and singly as an American of a very old school of tourists, carrying America with him even into Gargantua's birthplace, a little amazed over the small *mise en scène,* as if the tiny farms from which Rabelais developed his enormous cartoon should have been some Grand Canyon, some Garden of the Gods. Yet these pages on Chinon are the best, after all, in the book. If nowhere else in his journey, the author was deeply stirred there. The material with which a great imagination dealt gave him pause.

Another difficulty with this book is the same American difficulty, but from another aspect. It is written not only from an undiluted American standpoint, but in American idiom, American slang, American reference so dated as to be forever wrenching the reader back from sixteenth-century France, where he would really like to be and where he has a right to expect to be held by every wile and lure, into modern, uncivilized, uncouth America. Page 30 is a perfect example of how *not* to take measures to put the reader into a sixteenth-century mood, and this mass of Americanese confronts us while we are still approaching Chinon. Surely a "universal" writer should be introduced in something akin to universal speech, not in local dialect. And I think that by just so far as this form of expression is used it misrepresents America—that part of America, at least, which could be conceivably interested in this book on Rabelais's country. The author makes no effort seemingly to revive for his readers Rabelais's country as Rabelais saw and felt and expressed it. He quotes from Rabelais in truth, and we have just begun to scent the savor of old days when, alas, we are back in the twentieth century, back in America, jerked there by some wretchedly ill-timed reference to "prairie dogs" or "gun molls."

There are some places, aside from the Chinon section, where enough of the spirit of old days is felt to make one groan for the major opportunities wasted or thwarted by American standpoint and American lingo. Perhaps the secret lies in the last chapter—which is strange anti-climax, for the book ended

WHY WAS KING ALEXANDER ASSASSINATED?

And what effects will his assassination have on the peace of Europe? For the personal, political and economic background of the tragedy, read LOUIS ADAMIC'S best selling book:

THE NATIVE'S RETURN

Illustrated $2.75 HARPERS

An Epoch-Making Book

THE NEW ROAD TO PROGRESS

By

Dr. Samuel D. Schmallhausen

Such fascinating questions are discussed as: Can a social system go insane? Why is communism a marvelous contribution to psychotherapy? In what sense is Marx a great corrective for Freud? What can the masses contribute to culture? What is the difference between human nature under capitalism and under communism? What is the real cure for mass frustration? How can social revolution solve the neurotic plight of the younger generation? Is Fascism a culture or a crime? How can we begin to build the new road to progress? Can human nature be basically remade? 418 pages, $3.00

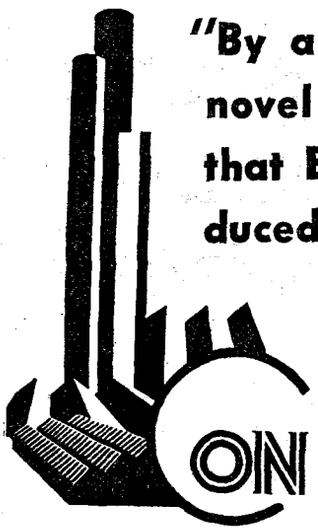
Reserve a copy of this important book either through your local bookstore or order direct from the publishers.

FALCON PRESS, INC. 330 W. 42nd ST., N. Y.

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"By all odds the BEST novel on the Depression that England has produced," says *New Masses* of



LOVE ON THE DOLE

by Walter Greenwood

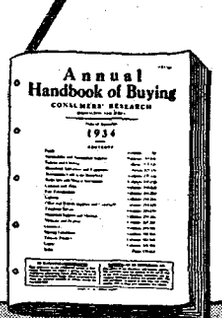
- "Most moving tale of mean streets since the war . . ." —*N. Y. Times.*
- "Timeliest, most living novel that has come out of England for a long time."—*Herald Tribune.*
- A Dickens of industrial England—creating immortal pictures of Hanky Park—its drunks, bums, derelicts, gossips, women—written with the slashing colors of Hogarth, the vitality of *Union Square.*

Now at all bookstores . . . $2.50

DOUBLEDAY, DORAN & CO., Garden City, N.Y.

Now Ready—

162 pages of practical, classified information about foods, drugs, automobiles, radios, cosmetics, clothing and many other subjects, prepared from disinterested technical sources. It lists specific brands on the basis of independent tests of quality and gives *comparative prices* of advertised and non-advertised goods. A reference book designed for people who cannot afford to buy thoughtlessly or to be hoodwinked by advertisers.



THE CONSUMERS' RESEARCH ANNUAL HANDBOOK OF BUYING — 1934

IT will be mailed without charge to all those who subscribe to Consumers' Research service at this time.

The *Confidential Bulletins* and *General Bulletins* of Consumers' Research have now been combined into a single service, with which is included, without additional charge, the *Annual Handbook of Buying.* The cost of the year's service is $3 ($3.50 in Canada and abroad). If you are interested in knowing what *Consumers' Research* does, and how it may help you to plan your purchases more effectively, write for full information. Address Box 78 —

Consumers' Research WASHINGTON • N. J.

on page 273 in one of the rare good moments of intimacy with the subject. Mr. Nock has been afraid to let himself go, been too timid of showing real emotion for a great theme, which is the last American touch of all. EDNA KENTON.

Drama

A Fig from Thistles

UNDER the odd and unsuitable name "A Sleeping Clergyman," the Theater Guild has just produced at its own theater a new play marked by a dour but passionate idealism. The author, a Scotch physician who writes under the name of James Bridie, may not have mastered the art of compact dramatic construction but he has nevertheless the gift of vivid dramatic imagination, and the result is a play which cannot fail to command an immediate respect. The action, which covers the major crises in the life of three generations, each cursed or blessed with the same rebellious temper, is a bit diffuse and not handled without occasional fumblings. Some of the scenes seem to be tangential to the main business in a manner proper enough in a novel but tending in drama to destroy that effect of rapid movement in a single direction which is almost necessary if a play is not to give the impression that it halts when it should go forward. But in a theater where nothing is more common than plays well made out of nothing, substance is precious enough to be more than welcome even if its organization is a little uncertain. And Mr. Bridie has substance. What is more, his unconventional characters are very vividly alive.

The thesis of "A Sleeping Clergyman" is simply that though blood may tell, there is no way of predicting the slight twist which can turn a hereditary trait from virtue to vice or from vice to virtue. The first Cameron we meet is a rake-hell student of medicine who seduces the sister of his friend, refuses the plea to marry her, and dies cursing God. His bastard daughter, adopted by her uncle, is a ruthless minx who poisons one cad of a lover when he threatens to stand in the way of her marriage with another. Finally her son, no less unruly than the rest, rises to an opportunity and achieves something which no mere virtuous mediocrity could ever achieve. What had been inherited was brains and passion and rebellious daring. Perhaps that much could have been predicted. But there was no foreseeing that something—possibly the mysterious swapping of genes in a package, possibly only the fortunate concatenation of outward circumstances—would turn the brains and the passion and the rebellious daring toward fruitful activity instead of toward self-destruction.

Now there is nothing strictly new either to literature or to science in this thesis. Great wits are sure to madness near allied. The typical hero of Byronic romanticism is the good-bad man, and Nietzsche had his say about the hero's rebellion against slave morality. Unfortunately, the theme also lends itself very easily to cheap sensationalism. The popular theory that the genius is inevitably drunk and disorderly passes very easily over to the distressing assumption sometimes made by playwrights that the portrait of a genius is complete if only he has been made to seem drunk enough and disorderly enough. Mr. Bridie, however, is not to be damned for the faults of others. His characters, standing on their own feet, are unmistakably themselves, not traditional figures of the drama. His passion is real and articulately communicated. Moreover, many individual scenes are written with the finest dramatic instinct, so that whatever has been said about a certain cumbersomeness in the organization of the whole does not apply to the movement of most of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the parts taken by themselves. Some of them are, indeed, very nearly unforgettable, and they make the play by far the most worth while which this season has offered.

The production, directed by Philip Moeller and set by Lee Simonson, is as finished as one has come to expect from them. The acting in most instances is also admirable, but the star of the evening is Ruth Gordon, first as the victim of the original seduction, then as the minx who commits murder, and finally as the spinster sister of the Cameron who justifies his blood. Gradually Miss Gordon has transformed herself from an amusing farce-comedian into a dramatic actress of great power and resource. No one who saw her some years ago in, for example, "Mrs. Partridge Presents," would have guessed what she was to become capable of, but in the present play she exhibits an admirable command of very real gifts. In the first place, her acting is boldly positive—she goes out of her way to create a definite effect where most actresses, uncertain of their ability, would have preferred to let the part carry them and to undertake nothing that an intelligible reading of the lines did not demand. In the second place, what she does, she does with a crispness, an assurance, and a firmness of outline which is as refreshing as it is unusual. Perhaps she is at her best in the second of her three roles. In the scene where, driven into a corner, she puts poison in the port which the ex-lover has just arrogantly commanded her to get for him, she manages a very difficult moment superbly. Even more impressive is what she does with much slighter material in the scene where we first meet her in the insolent ignorance of just waking passions. At that point the text itself is not particularly distinguished, but Miss Gordon creates a startling human being by the toss of a head and the indolent but assured movement of a body which seems to be just divining what it is capable of.

"Dance with Your Gods" (Mansfield Theater) is a melodrama purporting to demonstrate the power which voodoo still has in New Orleans. A painfully obvious introduction presents a young aristocrat who agrees to have a ceremony staged for a Northern newspaperman, and from that we go on to the rites themselves enthusiastically performed by a large Negro cast. The point is that jest turns into earnest and that the body of the young aristocrat becomes inhabited by the departed spirit of a "bad nigger." One of the characters says that fear explains everything, but I am in no position to know. Despite the "genuine voodoo drums" kindly lent by Miss Natalie Hammond, my eyes stubbornly refused to start from their spheres and my knotted and combined locks to part.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Music

Hindemith Does His Part

ABOUT a year ago I read in a German musical magazine, which was particularly concerned about the "party lines" of contemporary composers, an article which expressed some strong doubts about the extent of Hindemith's "coordination." The writer was imbued with the typical Nazi attitude, the notion that there is some fundamental psychological conversion and purification involved in the acceptance of Hitler's state; and he publicly questioned Hindemith's ability quickly to remake himself in accordance with the "new" pattern. One could not become a Nazi overnight, and the sudden change was deemed less likely on the part of a composer like Hindemith, whose aesthetic attainments had been so much of a piece with the period of German decadence preceding the Hitlerite "sanitation."

THE PROUD and the MEEK
by
JULES ROMAINS
You will find in this volume one of the greatest of living novelists at his incomparable best, richly and profoundly illuminating all aspects of human life—the rich and poor, the guilty in passion and the pure of heart, the life of a child and the intrigues of financiers and politicians. At all bookshops. $2.50
BORZOI BOOKS Alfred A. Knopf, 730 Fifth Ave., N. Y.

☐ LECTURES ☐ MEETINGS ☐

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED EDUCATION
Riverside Drive and 103rd Street
Monday, Oct. 22, 8:30 P.M.
Dr. Louis Berman, *The Heredity of the Ductless Glands*
Dr. W. Beran Wolfe, *The Role of the Father in the Family*
Tuesday, Oct. 23, 8:30 P.M.
Dr. Alfred Adler, *Psychology and the Pre-School Child*
Wednesday, Oct. 24, 8:30 P.M.
Adele T. Katz, *The Early Sonatas*
Thursday, Oct. 25, 8:30 P.M.
Dr. Joseph Jastrow, *Psychology Becomes A Science*
Admission 75c *Tel. CLarkson 2-1700*

TWO PRE-ELECTION INSTITUTES
on
THE COMING AMERICAN REVOLUTION
Oct. 27-28 Saturday, 2:30 & 7:30 Sundays 3 — 6 SESSIONS — Nov. 3-4 Saturday, 2:30 & 7:30 Sundays 3
SPEAKERS: V. F. Calverton, A. J. Muste, C. Hartley Grattan, John Chamberlain, Oliver Carlson, Horace M. Kallen, James Burnham, Sidney Hook, J. B. S. Hardman, Arnold Johnson, Ludwig Lore, E. S. Bates, Lewis F. Budenz, Prof. John L. Childs, Roger Baldwin.
Amalgamated Building (3rd Floor) 15 Union Square
Admission: Full course $2.00 Single Admission: 40 cents
Sponsored by the American Workers Party, 112 East 19th Street

☐ BOOKS ☐

The SEX TECHNIQUE IN MARRIAGE • *By* I. E. Hutton, M. D.
Dr. Ira Wile describes the book as a clear, succinct, non-emotional, authoritative and conservative exposition of the practical factors involved in making marriage successful on the sexual level. That describes the book exactly. . . . It is primarily concerned with the conduct of the honeymoon and with the technic of the sexual performance."—Dr. Morris Fishbein.
Price $2.00 (*postage 15c extra*) Recommended by Physicians
EMERSON BOOKS, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York City

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Some time after this article was published, Hindemith's new instrumental work, "Matthias der Maler," appeared—and it seems to have been received with intense acclaim. Though Hindemith's previous works had earned him a sizable public and the respect of the experts, with his new three-part "symphony" based upon old religious paintings by the pious Matthias Grünewald, he passed into the realm of orgiastic ovation. Evidently, on this occasion, his musical symbols were tapping stronger areas of appeal; and no one who likes to speculate on the relationship between art and social texture could fail to be interested in this work both for its "symptomatic" qualities and for the bold polyphonic shapes which anything by Hindemith is likely to possess. Hence our gratitude that the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra in its opening concerts gave us an opportunity to hear it, conducted with sympathy and authority by Otto Klemperer, and performed with precision by one of the most conscientious musical bodies in the world.

The three movements have as their points of departure three paintings by Grünewald for the Isenheim altar, at Colmar. In the first, the Concert of Angels, Grünewald contrives to make song pour forth with the profusion of a heavy rain. Even the golden pillars and busy scroll-like ornament of the tabernacle seem to be a-tingle. Modern savants may consider this devout songfulness all wrong, but none the less it is thoroughly there. For the second movement Hindemith chose as his emotive theme the Entombment, a harsh, lugubrious work, mourners with unpleasantly distorted faces, a piteously maltreated and drooping corpse, a rectangular sarcophagus with sharp lines indifferent to the modulations of the body, a sparse and desolate landscape in dull light. Gloom here is for the moment without relief: the painter could be as despairing as he chose, since the joyous parts of his program were taken care of elsewhere. The closing movement parallels Grünewald's Temptation of Saint Anthony, which discloses the typical religious dualism: Anthony suffocated by tumultuous apocalyptic beasts, all jaws, claws, horns, goads, beaks, snarls, and swollen bellies, a lewd and raspish swarm which are extremely ambitious, the torture of Anthony being the single goal of their ambition. Behind and above this stifling orgy are bright peaks, buoyant clouds, and such golden shafts as lead to the gates of heaven, so we know that events are turning out favorably for Anthony, that even as he lies in torment the processes of reward are under way in another part of the universe but have simply not yet caught up with him. Our eyes moving over the canvas lift us from the dark, cramped foreground into a world of brightness, benignity, and long vistas.

Hindemith seems to have regiven this material by establishing a very neat compromise between his earlier polyphonic writing and the demands of operatic impressionism. His archaistic mannerisms are retained, but without the earlier effrontery. He seems determined not to get too far ahead of his audience; and the rough melodies which he so skilfully subjects to the assaults of different timbres are never lost in complex tonal labyrinths. The blunt pietism of his earlier "Marienleben" is stressed by the ecclesiastical intervals of his harmonic structure; and though his adherents are vigorous in denying that Hindemith is now interested in such despicable things as "program music" or "tone color," he is prompt to draw upon the hymnal for its obviously associational effects. In the first movement the *cantus firmus* about the three angels who sang a sweet song serves its ends as literally as a lullaby, though Hindemith is much too practiced in modernistic gruffness to be able to endow his music here with the serenity of Grünewald's picture. The "scrannel" sounds of the Entombment, on the other hand, were naturally closer to his prior attainments, or to the contemporary temper in general, which is better equipped to reflect Grünewald's plaints than his glories. This "Mont Salvat" despair was, to my mind, the most successful movement of the three. As for the set piece, the more ambitious Temptation of Saint Anthony, the painter's dualistic framework naturally suggests the pattern in which, again and again, the old religious struggle between "good" and "evil" has been regiven in secular music-drama: the battlefield of tonal conflicts above which some favored theme of the composer eventually proclaims itself victorious. In this case the victory falls to a Hallelujah blared lustily by the brasses, a quantitative kind of assertiveness wherein modern man *(Homo go-getterus)* is probably as far as he can be from the quiet refulgence of Grünewald's painting. A martial Hallelujah for an ending is as good a "coordination" as one could ask for. Anthony has triumphed over his temptations—and everything seems to be set for marching men. To this extent the Temptation, the trigger that released the explosions of applause among the composer's countrymen, seems to have profited by a fusion of religious and nationalistic attitudes, thus easily accomplishing through the deviousness of musical symbolism an end which Hitler is having considerable trouble in bringing about dogmatically in his disputes with the pastors. The music is German, it is archaic, it is devotional, and it is militaristic. As such it seems fully to sum up the requirements of the German psyche at the moment.

I might add my belief that great art always will be found to base its appeal upon such a synthetic, or "coordinating," capacity, and that this function is regrettable only at times when psychological fusions serve to conceal economic divisions. In other words, Germany is not now entitled to have a musician as capable as Hindemith, whose abilities can help to integrate a political attitude which requires disintegration. Where there is need of revolution, it is not until the revolution has occurred that the integrative function of art can fully operate without tending to obscure issues and alignments that should be sharpened.

KENNETH BURKE

Films

Collectivism More or Less

KING VIDOR has long had the reputation of being one of the three or four established Hollywood directors who really know better than what their works may at all times lead one to believe. He has always stood for a certain honesty, a certain originality, a certain ambitiousness in the handling of peculiarly and authentically American themes. Moreover, he has shown a distinct preference for what used to be called the "lower strata" of society. Unlike the host of directors who depend on the sensational, the exotic, the luxurious, he is attracted nearly always by the charm and interest of the ordinary. "The Crowd" was a study in the maladjustments of a very ordinary young married couple in the mechanical jungle of the modern American metropolis. It is still one of the few films to show any awareness of the dramatic values implicit in the effort to preserve traditional human relationships in the atmosphere of subways, skyscrapers, and kitchenette apartments. In "The Champ" the story was of a broken-down American prize fighter trying to stage a come-back in a gambling town on the Mexican border. None of the obvious romantic possibilities of the background were utilized, and most of the important scenes were made to take place in a cheap rooming-house. Yet neither of these pictures was successful in the sense of realizing any clearly envisaged thematic intention. In both cases a highly sentimentalized conclusion canceled whatever excellences might have been pointed to throughout. After all, they bore the indis-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OPEN SHELF

WHEN A LESBIAN MARRIES

by La Forrest Potter, M.D.

Who exerts the stronger pull on a woman—her husband or a Lesbian? Here you will read true case histories of the effect of Lesbian love on a normal woman, what practices Lesbians adopt to "get their woman," and what happened when a man tried to reclaim his wife via the law. *When a Lesbian Marries* appears in the current issue of

THE MODERN PSYCHOLOGIST

edited by Dagobert D. Runes, Ph.D.

Among Other Articles in Current Issues:

Getting Rid of Self-Consciousness
A. A. Roback, Ph.D.

Work and Vitality
Louis Berman, M.D.

The Science of Hypnotism
Thomas L. Garrett, M.D.

Hallucinations and Alcohol
Leon F. Renault

The Unconscious and Its Creations
James Oppenheim

THE MODERN PSYCHOLOGIST is edited for the mature, intelligent reader. It deals with those problems of everyday living with which each of us is confronted. Have this unusual publication delivered to your home regularly. There is a special subscription offer of $2.00 for 1 year. Simply enclose bills, check, or money order, and mail to The Modern Psychologist, 310 Riverside Drive, New York.

BOOK BARGAINS

ALL NEW BOOKS AS ISSUED

Theodore Dreiser, Tragic America ($2.00)	$ .98
Lenin, Leon Trotsky	1.00
Modern Russian Poetry, Babette Deutsch	.98
George Moore, Sister Teresa (1.50)	.69
Sigrid Undset, The Cross (3.00)	.69
Pierre Louys, Woman and Puppet. Ill.	.98
Adams, History of U. S. 4 Vol.	3.98
Roget's Thesaurus. Complete Ed...Only	.98
Manual of Heraldry. 350 Illus.	1.89
Olive Schreiner, African Farm	.69
Louys, Songs of Bilitis. Illus.	.79
Wagner's Tannhauser. Pogany Ill.	.79
Bromfield, Modern Hero. Signed Ed.	1.95
Pierre Loti, Tahiti (2.50)	.98
Don Quixote. Dore Illus.	1.00
Frescoes of Diego Rivera. Ill. (10.00)	3.98
Dr. Stekel, Frigidity in Women. 2 Vol.	4.88
Dr. Stekel, Sadism and Masochism. 2 Vol	4.88
Krafft Ebing, Psychopathic Sex (5.00)	1.98

Postage 8 cents per volume. Catalogs.

329 FIFTH AVENUE, N. Y. C.

BLACKFRIARS PRESS

PERSONAL

ITALIAN linguaphone records. Wanted complete set second-hand records in good condition; reasonable price. Would buy or might consider renting for winter. Box 509, c/o The Nation.

CUSTOM DRESSMAKING—prepare for fall. Clothes made as you want them at moderate rate. Individual designs, careful fit and workmanship. Sport, evening, suits and coats. Natalie Gomez, 5 Washington Sq. N., GRamercy 7-2091.

MATURE, cultured, intelligent men and women invited to help organize discussion group. State age, background, etc. Box 510, c/o The The Nation.

ESCAPE FROM THE BUGHOUSE of socalled civilization! CONTACTS, correspondence club for the mentally marooned, connects you with over 1100 members who are debunked of most of the pretty fables morons are fed. Unusual books loaned. Send 3c stamp for Prospects 3a. CONTACTS, Box 91, Station D, New York City.

EDUCATIONAL

INVESTMENT COURSE

Principles of investment, an elementary course designed for women investors.
Wednesday, 11 to 12:30, Oct. 24-Dec. 19
8 lectures (inc. current financial events) Fee $12
Bryn Mawr Club, Park Lane, 299 Park Ave.
For folder of course and information, consult
CLARA I. TAYLOR, Investment Counselor
551 Fifth Ave. Vandervilt 3-2770

PROGRESSIVE SCHOOL IN COUNTRY

For 5-8 year olds; on 200 acre farm. Home, school and farm are merged to create common enterprise in living for adults and children. Progressive methods—in crafts and arts, academic work, and in children's cooperative labor with farmer, mechanic, housekeeper.

WICOPEE SPRINGS FARM AND SCHOOL
R. F. D., Hopeful Junction, Duchess Co., N. Y.
N. Y. City Office, 620 W. 134th St.

LANGUAGES

RUSSIAN TAUGHT Simplified method
MISS ISA WILGA
457 West 57th Street COLumbus 5-8450

RUSSIAN CLASSES
Brooklyn near Utica Station. Small groups. Simplified methods. 10 lessons $3.00. Mrs. SHOHAN, SLocum 6-0078.

$2.00 MONTHLY (NO EXTRAS)
12 French classes, 8 Spanish, 8 Italian, 8 Russian, 8 German. Privilege to converse with cultured natives until 10 P. M. Private 70c full hour lesson. Native graduate instructors. Language Exchange Center, 156 W. 45th St. LO 5-8310.

MISCELLANEOUS

SOVIET AMERICAN SECURITIES CORP.
30 Broad St., N. Y. - Tel. HAnover 2-5332

SYMPHONIC MUSIC

MUSIC LOVERS— 100,000 of the finest records in the world on sale at 50c and 75c per record (values $1.50 and $2). The Symphonies, Chamber Music, Operas, etc., of BACH, BEETHOVEN, BRAHMS, MOZERT, WAGNER, etc. Mail orders. Catalogue. THE GRAMAPHONE SHOP, Inc., 18 E. 48th St., New York City.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

J.G. EDMONDS, LITERARY AGENT. First novels, stories wanted. No advance charges. 5639 Rippey St., Pittsburgh, Pa. (or 108 W. 85th St., New York).

POSITIONS WANTED

GRADUATE of a leading Conservatory and Columbia University, desires position directing choral or instrumental music. Box 508, c/o The Nation.

HOUSES FOR RENT

CROTON ON HUDSON. Unique 5-room bungalow. Modern improvements. Very reasonable. Mardfin, 604 Riverside Drive, or Audibon 3-3916.

RESORTS

HALLOWE'EN WEEKEND PARTY
OCTOBER 27-82
Tennis, football, handball, horses, hiking.
Free transportation to nearby golf course.
Music, movies, midnight spread.
ONE DAY $4.50 • $8.00 TWO DAYS
Week-end round trip fares to Harmon; Grand Central—$1.50; 125th St.—$1.30.
Taxi meets all trains at Harmon station.
BLUE MOUNTAIN LODGE
Peekskill, N. Y. Phone Peek. 1403

OPEN ALL YEAR—LOWER FALL RATES
WESTERN VIEW FARM
15th Season
On a mountain top only 2½ hours from New York
Rates: $8.00 a day by the day.
6.00 a day by the week.
5.50 a day for two weeks or longer.
Including all the unusual extras. Wine cookery if you prefer it.
Service a la mode Continentale
Address: EDWARD G. OHMER, New Milford
Conn.—Telephone, New Milford 440
From all over the world comes this Farm's clientele

RED OAKS Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey
Golf, riding, tennis, all outdoor activities, 150 acre estate, private lake, beautiful country. Excellent food, spacious house, log fires. Just over the hour from New York by train or auto. Pennsylvania Railroad or Central Railroad of New Jersey to Red Bank.
Management: Macha and Hyman Strunsky
Telephone: Atlantic Highlands 264

ZINDOREST PARK
MONROE, N. Y. Phone 300
Formerly a millionaire's estate of 150 acres, beautifully landscaped. Tennis. Handball courts. Fishing. Many more attractions. Saddle horses on premises. Nearby golf. 1½ hours Erie R.R. or auto. Open all year.

Hillcrest Lodge among the Watchung Mts. 25 minutes by train, 50 by car. Golf, tennis on premises. Plainfield, N. J. Millington 222.

RIVERSIDE INN, Seymour, Conn., on Housatonic River. Beautiful country. Fishing, boating, other outdoor sports. Excellent food. Rates, $3 day, $17 week. Telephone Derby 639-2.

ADVERTISERS:-

Classified advertising copy for the issue appearing Thursday must reach us not later than noon Mondays. Display copy must reach us the previous Thursday if proof is to be shown, and Friday without proofs.

Classified rates, ½ inch, $3.08
1 inch, $6.16

THE NATION
20 Vesey Street, N. Y. CO 7-3330

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

putable trademark of Hollywood, and the only excuse that could be offered was that Vidor had done the best that he could under the circumstances.

But in his latest picture, which has opened to the most enthusiastic press notices of the season, Vidor was given, so we are told, a free hand both in scenario and production, so that whatever lapses occur must be laid to his door rather than to the Babylonian portals of Hollywood. "Our Daily Bread" is once again, like "The Crowd," a picture that is unusually ambitious both in conception and in scale of execution. The young couple of the earlier picture are now victims of the depression. Matters are desperate when a kindly uncle appears with an offer of an untenanted farm somewhere in the Middle West. But very soon after they settle in their new home the boy realizes that he is not trained for farming and is in as bad a position as before. An evicted Swedish farmer passing along the road comes to his rescue, and as a result the great idea of cooperative enterprise is born, the vision of a collectivist farm to be made up of representatives of all the trades and professions, men who are out of work and willing to take their chances on the soil. This is the "frame" within which Vidor manages to fit several incidents from the headlines of the last few years. The climax occurs when a drought threatens to ruin the corn harvest on which the whole community is depending. By a superhuman effort a trench is dug, entirely by hand, from a power dam two miles away, and the crop is saved. Even in outline the picture must seem like a travesty of the kind of collectivist film that the U. S. S. R. produced several years ago. Once again King Vidor reveals the sort of fundamental confusion which has prevented him from becoming a truly fine director. The confusion here, of course, consists in the familiar enough attempt of the liberal mind to reconcile the hope of a small collectivist unit with an acceptance of the larger pattern of capitalistic society. The absurd consequences come out in various ways—the digging of the trench entirely by hand, the self-sacrifice of one of the criminal members of the group for $500 ransom money, and the prompt banishment of the sex element when it appears in the person of a wandering prostitute. The film is nothing if it is not propaganda, and as propaganda it has not even the virtue of being very clear-headed as to its object. It is not likely, therefore, to do very much good or harm anywhere that it is shown.

WILLIAM TROY

Contributors to This Issue

LOUIS ADAMIC, a native of Jugoslavia, is the author of "Dynamite: The Story of Class Violence in America" and of "The Native's Return."

A. E. BUCK is a member of the staff of the Institute of Public Administration, of New York City.

ANITA BRENNER spent a number of months in Spain last year, studying social and political conditions.

TRAVERS CLEMENT is coauthor with Lillian Symes of "Rebel America."

FERNER NUHN contributes reviews and critical articles to various periodicals.

ARTHUR LIVINGSTON is associate professor of romance languages at Columbia University.

Next Week:

William Troy will review Jules Romains's "The Proud and the Meek."

Lionel Abel will review Josephine Herbst's "The Executioner Waits."

□ PLAYS □ FILMS □

THE THEATRE GUILD *presents*

A SLEEPING CLERGYMAN

By JAMES BRIDIE

GUILD THEATRE 52d St. W. of B'way. Eves. 8:30; Matinees Thurs. and Sat., 2:30.

D'OYLY CARTE OPERA COMPANY

FROM SAVOY THEATRE, LONDON

THIS ENTIRE WEEK "THE MIKADO"

Mats. Wed. and Sat.

Week Oct. 22 (Mon. to Wed.)—"TRIAL BY JURY" and "H. M. S. PINAFORE." Thurs. to Sat. (Sat. Mat.)—"IOLANTHE."

Week Oct. 29 (Mon. to Wed.)—"THE YEOMEN OF THE GUARD." Thurs. to Sat.—"PRINCESS IDA."

Week Nov. 5 (Mon. to Wed.)—"PATIENCE." Thurs. to Sat.—"TRIAL BY JURY" and "THE PIRATES OF PENZANCE."

Wed. Mat. 83c to $2.20. Sat. Mat. $1.10 to $2.75

Eves. $1.10 to $3.30 incl. tax. Seats now at Box Office.

MARTIN BECK THEATRE 45th Street West of 8th Ave. | Mats. 2:15 Eves. 8:15

AMERICAN PREMIERE

V. PUDOVKIN'S "DESERTER"

A Soviet Extraordinary Production with English Titles

CAMEO THEATRE 42 St. E. of Bway.

AMKINO'S Premiere of

MIRACLES

with Vladimir Gardin

Soviets Revolutionary Epoch

ACME THEATRE Union Sq. & 14 St.

□ JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH says □

A SLEEPING CLERGYMAN. Guild Theater. Reviewed in this issue.

DIVIDED BY THREE. Ethel Barrymore Theater. What happens when an idealistic youth discovers that his mother has a lover. The emotions, like the characters, seem a bit too formal in their dress but Judith Anderson helps make it an interesting play.

DODSWORTH. Shubert Theater. Sidney Howard's beautiful dramatization of Sinclair Lewis's play. If you did not see it last season you should this.

D'OYLY CARTE OPERA COMPANY. Gilbert and Sullivan Operas. Martin Beck Theater. English company in the best performances of the familiar operas that you are likely ever to see.

JUDGMENT DAY. Fulton Theater. Continuous and deafening excitement provided by Elmer Rice's idea of what the Reichstag fire trial would be like if it were repeated in another Nazi country.

LADY JANE. Plymouth Theater. How certain members of the younger generation in England discovered that mother was young once, too. Not exactly memorable.

LIFE BEGINS AT 8:40. A lively, talented, amusing show with several sketches above the average. The best of them is "Chin Up," which makes an English gentleman out of Bert Lahr. M. M.

MERRILY WE ROLL ALONG. Music Box. Ingenious, smooth, witty but rather mechanical drama about the youth of various successful men who meant when they were young to do really important things. Reveals the authors, Moss Hart and George Kaufman, in a mood rather more serious than usual.

SMALL MIRACLE. Golden Theater. Theft, murder, and adultery in a theater lobby. For those who like thick slices of what the writers of snappy melodrama call Life.

TOBACCO ROAD. Forrest Theater. Sub-human but fascinating behavior of the Georgia crackers.

THE DISTAFF SIDE. Booth Theater. Much charm but very little excitement provided by John van Druten's mild play about a mild English family. Dame Sybil Thorndike is the mild mother.

STEVEDORE. Civic Repertory Theater. The Theater Union's incendiary but impressive melodrama of race trouble in the South.

TIGHT BRITCHES. Avon Theater. Authentic and often interesting drama of the Southern hill people.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED